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# *"Careful Disorder": The Structure of* MOBY-DICK

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ANYONE INTERESTED IN A STRUCTURAL APPROACH to *Moby-Dick* is likely to be puzzled when he turns to the established theories concerning how the novel is blocked out and how various units and sequences of units are related to a larger framework. We are told either that no overall structure is discernible in a work whose growth was "organic" and spontaneous or that analogies with plays and epic poems can answer our questions about fundamental structure.<sup>1</sup> Somehow, with what we know about the professional novelist working with the familiar problems of length, proportion, emphasis, unity, all this rings false. We want the methods of fiction to explain the structure of fiction, and we search the novel for signs that they are there.

## I

Suppose we start with the simple point that *Moby-Dick* represents a fictional voyage around the world, with the *Pequod* crossing oceans and sailing along coasts which Melville himself knew as a seaman or as a reader of sea travels. Seeking a basic arrangement for this kind of narrative, Melville might well have used his artistic common sense, settled upon the obvious principle of spatial progress, and developed the sequence of chapters—however loosely and

<sup>1</sup> F. O. Matthiessen, *American Renaissance* (New York, 1964), pp. 417-421, and Charles Olson, *Call Me Ishmael* (New York, 1947), pp. 66-67, both offer a five act structure, though their divisions are somewhat different. Newton Arvin, *Herman Melville* (New York, 1950), pp. 156-158, suggests an epic 'wave' pattern similar to that underlying the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, the *Aeneid*, and the *Lustads*. He finds four general wave movements, each with its climactic crest, as well as a series of billows within his ninety-five chapter third wave. James E. Miller, Jr., *A Reader's Guide to Herman Melville* (New York, 1962), pp. 80-86, sees analogies to both the play and the symphony and ends with a structure of five parts each with a single insistent theme. In contrast is Walter Bezanson's conclusion that *Moby-Dick* has no "overarching formal pattern" the "controlling structure

is an organic complex of rhetoric, symbols, and interfused units' (*Moby-Dick: Work of Art, Moby-Dick Centennial Essays*, ed. Tyrus Hillway and Luther S. Mansfield, Dallas, 1961, p. 56).

"organically" individual chapters were added—on the basis of phases in the journey from New Bedford and Nantucket to the equatorial Pacific. One need hardly insist that division of *Moby-Dick* on a spatial principle would free us from structural analogy. Melville was not writing a play or symphony, but he was a-voyaging, and his organic expression might be expected to derive its natural form from the movement of ship and crew over the watery world of the novel—just as the form of *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers* is based on the days of the week and that of *Walden* on the seasonal changes of the year.<sup>2</sup>

A justification of this approach is that both *Redburn* and *White-Jacket*, the novels immediately preceding *Moby-Dick*, are blocked out on this simple spatial pattern. The basic structure of the former reflects Wellingborough Redburn's journey to Liverpool and back—specifically, from his home to the New York docks, outbound sea voyage to England, shore leave in Liverpool, homebound voyage to New York, and epilogue. The same kind of arrangement gives order to *White-Jacket's* experiences on board the homebound *Never-sink*: Callao to Rio de Janeiro, anchor duty at Rio, and Rio to Norfolk. But Ishmael's voyage on the *Pequod* involves a circumnavigation without the ports of call which helped structure the earlier books. Hence, if Melville had in mind a spatial outline for *Moby-Dick* similar to those he had used for *Redburn* and *White-Jacket*, the most obvious potential units would be the successive oceans through which the *Pequod* was to pass.

What are the simple phases of a fictional non-stop ocean voyage from Nantucket around the Cape of Good Hope to the central Pacific? Various routes would be possible, but Melville takes the *Pequod* irregularly across and down the Atlantic to Good Hope, across the Indian Ocean to Sumatra and through the Sunda Strait, through the Java and China-seas, into the Pacific to the Japanese whaling grounds, and east-southeast to the equatorial grounds for the fatal confrontation with Moby Dick. As Ishmael remarks in "The Chart," it is a "devious zig-zag world circle"—much different from the beeline voyages in *Redburn* and *White-Jacket*, but the

<sup>2</sup> Bezanson (p. 56) supplies an important suggestion in his rejection of plays and epics as models for the novel. 'In the last analysis,' he remarks, 'if one must have a prototype, here is an intensively heightened rendition of the logs, journals, and histories of the Anglo-American whaling tradition.'

major segments are clear enough the Atlantic Ocean, Indian Ocean, Eastern seas, Pacific Ocean, and the central Pacific whaling grounds known as "On-the-Line"

But exactly where in the novel are we given the facts necessary to plot the interocean travels of the *Pequod*? Chapter XLIV, "The Chart" merely notes that Ahab has chosen the Cape of Good Hope route and intends to visit sundry whaling grounds before arriving the next season "on the line" Geographical phrases occasionally appear at the beginnings of chapters "Some days elapsed, and ice and icebergs all astern, the *Pequod* now went rolling through the bright Quito spring" (Chapter XXIX),<sup>3</sup> "Steering northeastward from the Crozetts, we fell in with vast meadows of brit" (LVIII), "Now, from the South and West the *Pequod* was drawing nigh to Formosa and the Bashee Isles" (CLIX) These squibs keep the *Pequod* moving, but they are cryptic and sometimes ambiguous, and so contribute little to what might be called the experiential quality of our presence on the fictional voyage

On the other hand, certain distinctive chapters—four in all—provide the information necessary for charting the ship's course In fact, they do more they not only give geographical details related to the ship's itinerary and progress but use specific maritime settings for reaffirmation of Ahab's "fixed and fearless, forward dedication" to the quest, which is the primary unifying force in the novel From these chapters—LI, "The Spirit-Spout", LXXXVII, "The Grand Armada", CXI, "The Pacific", and CXXX, "The Hat"—we get the feel of movement around the world and, as well, the allegorical undertones of the voyage,—however differently the meaning of the allegory might appear to each of us Remembering the voyage-blocks in *Redburn* and *White-Jacket*, we should not be surprised to find that all four appear at points where the *Pequod* moves from one important stage of circumnavigation to another

"The Spirit-Spout" moves the ship around the Cape of Good Hope from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean, developing at some length the distinctive elements noted above The chapter opens with a summary of progress "Days, weeks passed, and under easy sail, the ivory *Pequod* had slowly swept across four several cruising-

<sup>3</sup> All quotations are from *Moby Dick*, ed L S Mansfield and H P Vincent (Chicago, 1952)

grounds, that off the Azores, off the Cape de Verdes, on the Plate (so called), being off the mouth of the Rio de la Plata, and the Carrol Ground, an unstaked, watery locality, southerly from St Helena" Then the unit emphasizes with lively detail the specific geographical setting—the Cape of Good Hope, where the winds howl over "long troubled seas" Even more important, Melville focuses on Ahab and his quest within the setting Sighting a mysterious whale spout on the Carrol Ground, the *Pequod* follows it around the stormy cape Here, in the face of the wildest blasts, Ahab stands sleepless on his quarterdeck facing the plunging bow, the crew stationed day and night in bownlines along the bulwarks By developing the figurative parallel between the ship's undeviating course amidst the cape storms and Ahab's monomania amidst the torment of his emotions—both tempted onward by the mysterious jet—Melville underlines the progress toward catastrophe

In "The Grand Armada," Melville offers the account of the ship's experiences at Sunda Strait as it moves from the Indian Ocean into the Java and China seas First, he locates the strait and discusses its strategic importance to mariners and whales heading into oriental waters, then he carefully reviews the itinerary, which will take the *Pequod* past the Philippines to the Japanese grounds, thence to the Line, where Ahab is sure he will encounter Moby Dick

As in the Good Hope chapter at the beginning of the third stage of the voyage, the situation of the *Pequod* is made explicitly suggestive of Ahab's state of mind The ship, beset by Malayan pirates behind, hurries through the "green walls of the watery defile" in hot pursuit of a pod of whales With violence howling in the rear and the mysterious leviathan ahead, Ahab himself begins to perceive his insanity, and his brow is left "gaunt and ribbed" When the *Pequod* at last clears Cockatoo Point and emerges into the Java Sea, Melville uses the peaceful scene beyond to remind the reader of Ishmael's mental responses, which are often in contrast to those of his monomaniacal captain

In "The Pacific," which takes the *Pequod* into "the midmost waters of the world," the specific geographical locale, the facts of spatial progress, and the restatement of Ahab's quest are all present, though in condensed form The chapter opens with Ishmael's tribute to the Pacific as the *Pequod* passes to the north of the Batan

Islands between the Philippines and Taiwan. But, as in the other transitional chapters, the reader's attention is directed to Ahab's relationship with Moby Dick.

Launched at length upon these almost final waters, and gliding towards the Japanese cruising-ground, the old man's purpose intensified itself. His firm lips met like the lips of a vice, the Delta of his forehead's veins swelled like overlaiden brooks, in his very sleep, his ringing cry ran through the vaulted hull, "Stern all! the White Whale spouts thick blood!"

These are the last lines of a brief chapter, for the dramatic action has now quickened and there are to be no long units until the final narrative of conflict with Moby Dick.

The geographical comment of the opening paragraph of "The Hat," signaling the arrival of the *Pequod* at the central Pacific whaling grounds, is concise but emphatic, and its explicit comments on the past itinerary of the whaling voyage, the significance of the successive gams, and Ahab's ever-increasing tension announce clearly that the final stage of the narrative is at hand.

And now that the proper time and place, after so long and wide a preliminary cruise, Ahab,—all other whaling waters swept—seemed to have chased his foe into an ocean-fold, to slay him the more securely there, now, that he found himself hard by the very latitude and longitude where his tormenting wound had been inflicted, now that a vessel had been spoken which on the very day preceding had actually encountered Moby Dick,—and now that all his successive meetings with various ships contrastingly concurred to show the demoniac indifference with which the white whale tore his hunters, whether sinning or sinned against, now it was that there lurked a something in the old man's eyes, which it was hardly sufferable for feeble souls to see.

After a long exposition of Ahab's ferocious determination, Melville, as in the other three transitional chapters, dramatizes the situation in the context of the locale. Distrusting the skill of the lookouts, the impatient Ahab orders the crew to hoist him into the rigging, whereupon a Pacific sea fowl wheels down, snatches his hat, and, flying on ahead of the *Pequod*, drops the headpiece on the fatal 'equatorial waters, the haunt of Moby Dick.

If these four chapters mark the oceanic stages of the voyage, a

unit equally crucial to spatial progress is "Merry Christmas," which launches the *Pequod* onto the wintry sea. No transition in the novel is clearer than that when Bildad and Peleg reluctantly leave in the Nantucket pilot boat, the crew offers its "heavy-hearted cheers," and the ship plunges into "the lone Atlantic." But "Merry Christmas" is in substance different from the other transitional chapters, for at this point the *Pequod* is just beginning its cruise, and Ahab has not yet come on deck. In his stead Melville presents Bulkington in "The Lee Shore" as the silent partner of the Ishmael of "Loomings," the epitome of the landlessness to which both Ahab and Ishmael aspire and which will bring death to one and homeless survival to the other.

Melville offers conspicuous transitional units, then, as the *Pequod* moves from segment to segment of the oceanic trip. Their geographical emphasis is strengthened by their development of the captain's strange and central business. If these chapters are genuine structural artifacts, they indicate a division of the book based on the spatial progress of the voyage.

But, in itself, identification of certain unique chapters at the sea corners of the novel, dividing the whole into six parts, proves little about Melville's craft. The real question is whether Melville used the geographical divisions thus defined in controlling and ordering the novel. The evidence is that he did.

On the basis of what has been said so far, the novel might be tentatively outlined as follows: I NEW BEDFORD AND NANTUCKET – twenty-two chapters, I, "Loomings," to XXII, "Merry Christmas", II NANTUCKET TO CAPE OF GOOD HOPE – twenty-eight chapters, XXIII, "The Lee Shore," to L, "Ahab's Boat and Crew Fedallah", III GOOD HOPE TO SUNDA STRAIT – thirty-six chapters, LI, "The Spirit-Spout," to LXXYVI, "The Tail", IV SUNDA STRAIT TO PACIFIC – twenty-four chapters, LXXYVII, "The Grand Armada," to CX, "Queequeg in his Coffin", V PACIFIC TO EQUATOR – nineteen chapters, CXI, "The Pacific," to CXXIX, "The Cabin Ahab and Pip", VI EQUATOR – six chapters, CXXX, "The Hat," to CXXXV, "The Chase Third Day", Epilogue. Obviously, this outline reflects a reasonably proportionate allocation of chapters, suggesting some management on Melville's part both before and during the process of composition. But, more important, a close look within the voyage blocks of this outline

brings to light what seems to be repeated and regular structural activity—in this case on a numerical rather than geographical principle—so well defined that one is tempted to insist that we are following an authentic trail. For, at the numerical center of all six divisions are traces of craft clearly identifiable through peculiarities of style, technique, episode, and theme and suggesting a measured subdivision of the voyage outline.

Let us consider the evidence. Dividing the first segment, somewhat beyond midpoint, is the chapter entitled "Wheelbarrow," which depicts Ishmael's trip from New Bedford to Nantucket, that is, from continent to island—allegorically, from the land "all over dented with marks of slavish heels and hoofs" toward the intellectual and spiritual freedom of the sea. In this central chapter Ishmael also symbolically moves away from terrestrial conventions by explicitly identifying himself with the heathen Queequeg when, during the short voyage, the latter saves the life of a jeering Christian, foreshadowing, as any reader of *Moby-Dick* knows, the salvation of Ishmael at the end of the novel. In other words, there is a transitional quality to the center of the division, supported, one might add, by a spine-tingling change of narrative style when the Nantucket schooner dashes down the Acushnet River and into Buzzards Bay.

At the center of the next major segment of the novel, the Nantucket-to-Good Hope unit, there is even stronger evidence of juncture—in this case out-and-out "mechanical" structuring. The exact numerical center of this segment falls between the important chapter "The Quarter-Deck" and "Sunset," in which Melville shifts into stage directions, soliloquy, and dialogue.<sup>4</sup> A set of four chapters—"Sunset," "Dusk," "First Night-Watch," and "Midnight, Forecastle" (xxxvii to xl)—are presented as scenes in a play, each taking up the current states of mind of main participants in the tragedy: Ahab, Starbuck, Stubb, and the crew. Moreover, the eight central chapters of the Atlantic section are arranged in an "envelope" pattern: "The Mast-Head" (Ishmael's unsteadiness of mind aloft) and "The Quarter-Deck" (Ahab's monomaniacal quest) immediately precede the four stage-scene chapters, and "Moby-Dick" (what the Whale

<sup>4</sup> There is some suggestion of dramatic technique in chaps. xxix, xxx, and xxxi at the quarter mark of this division, but the development of material is basically in the usual narrative style.



means to Ahab) and "The Whiteness of the Whale" (what the Whale means to Ishmael) immediately follow them<sup>5</sup> The effect of this device, as well as the grouping of thematically and dramatically important chapters, is a decided structural emphasis, implying subdivision of the Nantucket-to-Good Hope unit

When the *Pequod* leaves the environs of the Cape of Good Hope and moves into the heart of the Indian Ocean, Melville commences his long cetological discussion with "The Line" and "Stubb Kills a Whale" During the chases and oil extraction, the *Pequod*, her canvas taken in and helm "lashed a'lee," makes almost no headway on the journey Time moves slowly, the action for some twenty chapters covering little more than twenty-four hours—from Saturday to Sunday afternoon Midway through the Sabbath, in "The Funeral" (LXIX), the carcass is cast loose This is midpoint in the third division of the book With the white cadaver of the stripped whale slowly floating away surrounded by the "sea vultures" and "air sharks," an important phase of the cutting and baling process has been completed, and all the crewmen on deck go below to their midday meal<sup>6</sup>

The second half of the segment commences with "The Sphinx" (LXX), in which Ahab comes up from his cabin in the noon hush to soliloquize on the huge head of the sperm whale, still hanging in the main chains at the ship's waist Here, subdivision occurs not only from a shift into dramatic technique as in the Atlantic segment but from the termination of a major stage in the whaling process

The captain's ruminations have been interrupted by the cry of "Sail Ho!" from aloft, and the *Jeroboam* bears down on the *Pequod* for a gam—still another episode in this Sabbath sequence of events In this chapter Ahab, fresh from questioning the meaning of the sperm whale's head in "The Sphinx," confronts the demented Shaker prophet, Gabriel, who has already found the answer and warns Ahab of impending death With two vivid chapters in the

<sup>5</sup> Leon Howard notes the possible "tinkering" involved here, pointing out that, at the beginning of chap. XLI, *Moby Dick*, "appears comment from Ishmael connecting himself with the great oath taken by the crew in chap. xxxvi, 'The Quarter Deck,' a transition suggesting that originally the former immediately followed the latter in sequence (*Herman Melville* Berkeley, 1951, p. 167)

<sup>6</sup> Numerically, the central point comes one chapter earlier—i.e., between "The Blanket" and "The Funeral" However, the division of material is clearly as indicated

center of the division Melville has brought back the Ahab-Moby Dick theme, a device that he will use again at midpoint in the next phase of the journey

The numerical center of the Java-China seas phase falls at the end of Chapter xcvi, "Stowing Down and Clearing Up," which begins with a formal summary, unmistakably marking the end of the technical account of whaling and oil extraction

Already has it been related how the great leviathan is afar off descried from the mast-head, how he is chased over the watery moors, and slaughtered in the valleys of the deep, how he is then towed alongside and beheaded, and how his great padded surtout becomes the property of his executioner, how, in due time, he is condemned to the pots, and his spermaceti, oil, and bone pass unscathed through the fire,—but now it remains to conclude the last chapter of this part of the description by rehearsing the romantic proceeding of decanting off his oil into the casks and striking them down into the hold <sup>7</sup>

Ishmael goes on to describe the decanting procedure and then the energetic scrubbing, swabbing, and stowing that bring the whaler back to order after the untidy "affair of oil." Like "The Funeral" at the center of the last division, this chapter produces a natural pause in the business at hand.

And the structural parallel with "The Sphinx" of the Indian Ocean division is "The Doubloon," which introduces the second part of this segment by shifting from exposition of the whaling process to dramatic soliloquy involving several main characters in solitary contemplation of the "strange figures and inscriptions" stamped on the gold coin.

Finally, to complete the pattern, the gam with the *Samuel Enderby* follows "The Doubloon"—balancing the meeting with the *Jeroboam* in the Indian Ocean and portraying a captain who is as firm in mind as Gabriel and Ahab are infirm.

At the center of the Pacific segment of the novel comes the great typhoon, which, with its aftermath, is developed in six chapters ("The Candles" to "The Needle"). Like "The Quarter-Deck," at the same place in the Atlantic segment, "The Candles" portrays Ahab in histrionic violence before the whole crew. And, as in the

7 Howard P. Vincent in *The Trying Out of Moby Dick* (Cambridge, Mass., 1949) unaccountably omits reference to this summary, and in fact to the chapter as a whole.

earlier division, the numerical midpoint here (cxxx) is marked by a shift into stage directions, bare dialogue, and soliloquy, which are carried into additional chapters (cxxxI and cxxxII)—all three being involved in the typhoon episode. These chapters are developed as a dramatic series showing the crew's response to Ahab's defiance of the corposants Ahab-Starbuck (cxxx), Stubb-Flask (cxxxI), and Tashtego in soliloquy (cxxxII). They parallel the Atlantic series, which is arranged to show reactions to the oath-taking.

Actually the time sequence including the six typhoon chapters commences with "The Quadrant" (cxviii), in which Ahab smashes his "vain toy" and orders the ship east-southeast toward the Equator and into the path of the storm, and ends with the loss of the log and line (cxxxv) the morning after the typhoon. Thus the whole central section of this division—eight chapters in all—covers a period of about twenty-four hours, from noon of the day of the storm to about noon the next day, the three stage chapters being "enveloped" in this time sequence by two chapters of straight narrative on the one side and three on the other—somewhat like the pattern at the center of the Atlantic segment. All in all, the central portions of the Atlantic and Pacific divisions show resemblances that are too close to be coincidental.

The final segment, covering the catastrophe "on the line," is constructed very simply: three chapters of ominous developments—"The Hat," "The Pequod Meets the Delight," and "The Symphony,"—and the three chapters of "The Chase." In "The Symphony," which closes the first half of the segment, Melville manages a dramatic pause before the final action as Starbuck and the landlike beauties of the central Pacific bring Ahab to the verge of relinquishing the quest. As in the other five segments, the flow of the narrative alters at midpoint—here, an exciting shift into action, like that in the first division, with Ahab's unforgettable cry near the beginning of "The Chase: First Day," "There she blows!—there she blows! A hump like a snow-hill! It is Moby Dick!"

In short, if the novel is blocked out on the basis of the six segments of spatial progress, there is clear evidence of further division at all six centerpoints in the numerical sequence of chapters, indicated by singularly parallel devices. The presence of these skeletal manifestations tempts one to speculate that Melville was

working with an outline, maintaining a general symmetry despite the "organic" addition of chapters or groups of chapters as the novel grew in size and complexity<sup>8</sup>

As for the suspicion that the theory depends too heavily on numbers and mechanics whereas the artist himself described his structural methods in the organic terms of "branches and twigs,"<sup>9</sup> one need only point out that Melville certainly did use mechanical patterning in other respects. The gams are spaced with an eye to numbers, producing, as Walter Bezanson puts it, "a stiffening element in the structure of the book, a kind of counterforce, structurally, to the organic relationship of parts"<sup>10</sup> In fact, the seaman Jackson material in *Redburn* and the "jacket" chapters in *White-Jacket* are used in exactly the same way and with the same structural effect.<sup>11</sup> Moreover, Melville's architectural arrangement of the Grand Banks and Cape Clear episodes in the second and fourth segments of *Redburn's* travels and the Cape Horn and Equator sequences in the first and third divisions of *White-Jacket* suggests even more strongly that Melville was working mechanically within a basic spatial framework before *Moby-Dick*.<sup>12</sup>

In this context, one is reminded of the fact that the American romantics, in their attempt to produce in art the harmony of na-

<sup>8</sup> The much discussed revision of the novel after Melville's meeting with Hawthorne need not concern us here, for we are tracing a blueprint of the final version, whatever revisions might have been made along the way within or without this hypothetical plan.

<sup>9</sup> Out of the trunk, the branches grow, out of them, the twigs. So, in productive subjects, grow the chapters (beginning of chap. LXIII, 'The Crotch')

<sup>10</sup> Bezanson, p. 54

<sup>11</sup> The misanthropic Jackson is characterized in five regularly spaced chapters in *Redburn*—two during the outbound voyage (chaps. XII and XXII) and three during the homebound trip (XLVIII, LV, and LIX). In *White-Jacket* the chapters focused on the narrator's distinctive jacket are arranged at measured intervals throughout the three segments of the voyage, most being concentrated in the Callao to Rio division (chaps. I, IX, XV, XIX, XXV, and XXIX). It is interesting that not only are these chapters spaced like the gams of *Moby-Dick*, but also that there are nine jacket chapters and nine gams. In the arrangement I am suggesting for *Moby-Dick* the gams appear in the last four segments of the voyage, distributed 4, 2, 2, 1.

<sup>12</sup> In *Redburn* the Grand Banks fog and storm cover exactly the third quarter of the *Highlander's* outbound trip (chaps. XVII-XXII), and the ship's troubles off Cape Clear extend through the exact central portion of the homebound stage (chaps. LI-LVIII). Halfway through the Callao to Rio division of *White-Jacket* the *Neversink* reaches stormy Cape Horn waters, there to remain for eight crucial chapters (chaps. XXI-XXVIII) almost exactly the third quarter of the division) while Melville opens his first heavy attack on naval tyranny in the context of cape weather conditions. The central six chapters of the Rio to Norfolk segment (chaps. LXXVII-LXXXVII) take the *Neversink* over the Equator, a setting used for further castigation of the navy when White-Jacket's messmate dies in the stifling sick bay.

ture, made much not only of "those forms into which all matter is inclined to run, as foliage and fruit," as Thoreau phrased it in *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers*, but also of the regularities of natural form—circles, spirals, ripples, the units of time and space, the numbers common in nature such as fives, threes, and particularly twos "The world looks like a multiplication table, or a mathematical equation," said Emerson in "Compensation," "which, turn it how you will, balances itself" Although one hesitates to speak of *Moby-Dick* in mathematical terms, such notions as the above do suggest that writers like Emerson, Thoreau, and Melville himself could find room in their artistic world for the "geometry" of composition—repetition, proportion, balance, spacing, and the like—especially when these provided some plain answers as to what to do with a burgeoning essay or novel that had eventually to be put between covers

As a matter of fact, the romantic attachment to numbers—especially the mystical harmony of pairs—suggests a further order within the spatial-numerical framework of which we have found evidence in *Moby-Dick* For, if the evidence indicates that the voyage of the *Pequod* supplied Melville with the basic skeleton for the novel and that his "lower level" depended on numerical division, the same kind of analysis suggests that he arranged the six divisions of the voyage as balanced pairs The most obvious signs of this arrangement are the structural parallels noted above, apparent at midpoint of the six sections the sudden narrative change of pace as Ishmael sails from continent to island and the *Pequod* from "mild blue days" into tornadic battle with Moby Dick in the first and sixth divisions, the carefully wrought "envelopes" in the second and fifth, and the soliloquy-gam sets in the third and fourth These patterns in themselves are interesting enough, but they are only part of the story In theme as well as form there are important correspondences between the divisions

As for the first and sixth sections, the gam with the *Delight* and the disaster that follows are an obvious comment on Father Mapple's sermon on the "delights" of Christian faith,<sup>13</sup> the sermon and the gam coming in approximately the same place in their respective segments of the novel The love-marriage imagery of "The Counter-

<sup>13</sup> See Mansfield and Vincent, eds., *Moby Dick*, p. 825

pane," "A Bosom Friend," and "Nightgown," which appear immediately before the dash to Nantucket, is echoed and even at times duplicated in "The Symphony," placed just before the sighting of Moby Dick, as Ahab and Starbuck contemplate the seductive Pacific seascape and the mate is rejected in his final attempt to turn his old friend from the quest. Ishmael's survival by means of Queequeg's coffin in the Epilogue is Melville's logical conclusion to the friendly shenanigans in the Spouter Inn, as Ishmael's near loss of life (and the *Pequod's* disaster) is the final comment on man's "itch for things remote" voiced in "Loomings."

The second and fifth divisions also contain some additional parallels. Admittedly, the narrative pace in the Pacific segment is less leisurely than in the Atlantic unit, in which Melville has the problem of introducing not only the major dramatic figures and their motivations but cetological themes as well. But in both, the main business is the movement of Ahab into the center of the stage—in the Atlantic out of the dark hints of Peleg and Elijah back at Nantucket, in the Pacific out of the cetological foliage at the center of the novel. The pair of histrionic chapters—"The Quarter-Deck" and "The Candles,"<sup>14</sup> appearing at the same architectural point in the two divisions—represent climaxes in Ahab's two emergences, after similar series of chapters have prepared the way. On the other hand, the dramatic tension created at midpoint of the Atlantic segment dies down in the expository reaches of "Moby Dick," "The Whiteness of the Whale," and "The Chart"—chapters which set a slower pace for the third and fourth sections, whereas in the final half of the Pacific division, the cyclonic excitement generated in "The Candles" is maintained in preparation for the final chase, now only a few chapters away.

The correspondences and balances between the third and fourth segments are pronounced. As we have seen, at the center of both the Indian Ocean and Java-China seas divisions are pairs of chapters remarkably alike, involving Ahab and the crew in soliloquy and in confrontation with other maritime travelers. These appearances of Ahab at the centerpoints are particularly important to the ongoing of the drama, for in neither segment has the pursuit of the White Whale been in sight since the opening chapters, and in

<sup>14</sup> Bezanson (p. 52) notes the similarity of these two units, offering them as examples of Melville's use of "balancing chapters."

both segments Melville returns to cetological matters immediately after these interludes. The two sections, of course, also correspond in substance, being Melville's disquisition on whales and whaling.<sup>15</sup> These great themes have been introduced in the Atlantic division, as the *Pequod* cruises southward from Nantucket, but not until the long, tedious voyage across the Indian Ocean, with all introductory material taken care of, is there occasion for amplification of the "honor and glory of whaling"

Actually, there are two basic subjects involved here—the "natural philosophy" of whales and the technology of whaling on the *Pequod* and through the ages. Both receive close attention in each of the interior divisions—and through the same loose organizational devices. One of these is a simple association of ideas. For example, parallel associational sequences are appended to the transitional Good Hope and Sunda Strait units. While still in the busy Good Hope area ("much like some noted four corners of a great highway," says Ishmael in Chapter LIV), the *Pequod* meets first the *Albatross* and then the *Town-Ho*. The latter gam leads to Ishmael's famous tale of Steelkilt, Radney, and Moby Dick, told to an audience of Peruvian friends who doubt the verity of Ishmael's portrait of the White Whale. On this slender twig Melville leafs out three more chapters dealing with representations of leviathan: "Of the Monstrous Pictures of Whales" (LV), "Of the Less Erroneous Pictures of Whales, and the True Pictures of Whaling Scenes" (LVI), and "Of Whales in Paint, in Teeth, in Wood, in Sheet-Iron, in Stone, in Mountains, in Stars" (LVII). Similarly, the "grand armada" in the Sunda Strait episode leads to "Schools and Schoolmasters" (LXXXVIII), involving comment on waifs and waif-poles, which suggests "Fast-Fish and Loose-Fish" (LXXXIX), certain of whose details in turn bud into "Heads or Tails" (XC). This concentration of related chapters provides a kind of structural emphasis to both the Good Hope and Sunda Strait corners of the novel.

The most important organizational device in the exposition of cetology and whaling is the use of whale-killings as, in the words of Bezanson, "structural occasions for ordering" essays and sermons."<sup>16</sup> For example, in the first half of the third segment Stubb

<sup>15</sup> The two divisions fall within the seventy-four chapter "cetological center" described in Vincent, *The Trying Out of Moby-Dick*.

<sup>16</sup> Bezanson, p. 53.

kills the first whale of the voyage, in preparation for which Melville discusses whale food (LVIII, LIX) and the whale-line (LX) and following which he offers "The Dart," "The Crotch," "The Shark Massacre," "Cutting In," and "The Funeral"—all developing, in general chronological order, stages of the whaling process. Likewise, when in the first part of the Java-China seas division Stubb kills another whale (XCIII, "The Castaway"), the event leads to "A Squeeze of the Hand," "The Cassock," "The Try-Works," "The Lamp," and "Stowing Down and Clearing Up"—various steps in the trying-out phase of whaling. The latter halves offer parallel sequences dealing with the natural history of whales. In the third division, the chapters on the head of leviathan grow out of the dubious affair of killing a right whale (LXXIII) and suspending his head across-decks from that of the sperm whale. In the same location of the fourth, Melville strings out a sequence on leviathan's skeleton, the final cetological discourse of the novel. Skeletons can not be studied amidst the hectic oil extraction, as Ishmael points out at the beginning of Chapter CII, but Melville produces a dead whale for scientific consideration here by having Ishmael recall the whitened remains of a sperm whale, accidentally beached on one of the Solomon Islands. The parallel with the other whale-killings is close enough.

All this is not to say, of course, that the third and fourth, or the other paired divisions, have precisely the same design. The former is more densely packed with cetological and technical chapters and sequences, and it ends, appropriately enough, with a discourse on the tail of leviathan. On the other hand, with the *Pequod* approaching the fatal Pacific, the latter terminates with Ahab back on deck and Queequeg in and out of his coffin as cetology and technology recede. But, granted the voyage framework of six segments, the structure of one division generally balances that of its opposite as the story moves from point to point around a structural hexagon, with "Loomings" and the Epilogue closing the figure.

A final argument in support of the six-part structure is that it partitions the novel clearly and logically in respect to Melville's major artistic problems. Each of the spatial segments is well defined by the larger fictional issues it settles. In the New Bedford-Nantucket phase Melville establishes his point of view through



Ishmael, who moves step by step from life on land to the landlessness of the voyage. As a part of this momentous transition, Melville involves Ishmael in a profound human attachment, a friendship from which he has carefully removed all impurities of sex and common cultural ties and by which he intends the young seaman, in contrast to the protagonist Ahab, to be saved. As the ship crisscrosses down the Atlantic, Melville's problem is introduction—of the heterogeneous crew, the world in microcosm, of the principal "Isolato," the monomaniacal captain, who rejects all human relationships for his terrible attachment to Moby Dick, of the universe of work and action and the senses, the "lords of life," which, if Emerson was right, spoke of things final and real, of the cetology that poses the ultimate questions of the book.

All preliminaries attended to, the everyday business of whale-slaying begins, and the Indian Ocean segment takes us through the whaling procedure from the sighting of the spout to the baling of the tun, presenting, in addition, the whale from spout to tail as a subject of scientific and philosophical disquisition. Chapter LXXXVI, "The Tail," the final unit of the division, offers an unsettling conclusion to what has gone before, for, despite this ocean-long analysis, Ishmael cannot penetrate leviathan's ambiguities. "Dissect him how I may, then, I but go skin deep, I know him not, and never will."

The Java-China seas sequence of chapters ends on the same theme, though with a dramatic statement of the idea, as Ahab, now returning to the fore, turns despairingly from the mysterious treatise on truth, tattooed on Queequeg's body. This conclusion takes on contextual significance from the fact that the division as a whole continues and finally completes the cetological discourse of the preceding segment. One phase of the discourse, whaling technology, is taken up at the point it was set aside in the third division, is developed through the trying-out and decanting processes, and ends at the halfway mark in "Stowing Down and Clearing Up." The other phase, the natural philosophy of whales, extends almost through the second half of the segment, asserting at the last not only the ultimate mystery of leviathan but, as in the final sentence of Chapter cv, the endurance of his challenge: "the eternal whale will survive, and rearing upon the topmost crest of the equatorial flood, spout his frothed defiance to the skies."

In each of the two interior divisions of the novel Melville brings Ahab forward only at the beginning, midpoint, and end, but in the Pacific segment his problem is to refocus the story on the captain. This is done in a series of chapters that present Ahab in dramatic conflict with the crew as a whole—in "The Forge," "The Candles," "The Needle," "The Life-Buoy", with individual members of the crew—Perth, Starbuck, the Parsee, the Manxman, Pip, the carpenter, and with his own ideals and aims—in "The Dying Whale," "The Quadrant," "The Deck." In order to pace the narrative, Melville varies the mood through scenes alternating between serenity and violence, but he keeps tension mounting steadily as the *Pequod* moves toward the equator.

In the last segment of the voyage, Melville manages one final omen in "The Hat," one final dramatic pause in "The Symphony," and one last ironic gam before he sends the *Pequod* into combat with Moby Dick. To the sailors the White Whale's jet seems "the same silent spout they had long ago beheld in the moonlit Atlantic and Indian Oceans." The three chase units complete the ever-narrowing circle of fate, and Ishmael alone is left to contemplate the vortex, clinging to his lost friend's coffin.

While a radical summary like this oversimplifies a complex set of artistic problems, its six-part structure does seem to identify the main stratagems of composition.

## II

If one looks back at the novel's profile, with the various chapter sequences creating a kind of foliar contour, it is understandable that some critics stress Melville's "trunk, branches, twigs" metaphor as a comprehensive statement of method and imply, in the end, that the novel evolved without much premeditated order. For other critics an alternative has been to turn to analogies with other forms of art to identify some formal arrangement. Both approaches lead to interesting and sometimes useful suggestions concerning Melville's craft in *Moby-Dick*. But they do not answer our questions about fundamental order. Perhaps Melville had no overall strategy of composition and needed none as chapter after chapter branched out from that which had come before. But it is more probable that he did. On Emerson's assertion that his own verse was an attempt

to imitate bird songs and bee flights, F O Matthiessen comments that, whatever the poet says about deriving artistic form from natural sounds and patterns, "the fact is not the form," and the poem is not a part of nature<sup>17</sup> To Melville's assertion of organic methods of composition one is inclined to make a similar return *Moby-Dick* is no more a tree than it is an epic poem or a five-act tragedy

The argument here has been that Melville developed *Moby-Dick* through more artistically practical methods than analogies or mere association of ideas Behind the chapter-clusters that define the novel's leafy configuration are solid trunk and branches the interocean voyage divided on the basis of the ship's progress from watery world to watery world and subdivided on a simple numerical principle The artifacts of this overall framework are regularly spaced transitional chapters with uniquely geographical emphasis, sets of chapters at midpoint of each division with unmistakable signs of juncture, a scheme employing parallels and balances between pairs of the six-part structure, and a logical apportioning of the substance of the novel on the basis of spatial units

Once these structural principles and facts are identified, one understands the real meaning of another much-quoted remark, offered at the beginning of Chapter LXXXII "There are some enterprises in which a careful disorderliness is the true method" Melville's disorder was simply that of the great organic artist who is careful to provide his work of art with the architecture necessary for orderly growth

<sup>17</sup> Matthiessen, p 137

*Emily Dickinson's "Further in Summer than  
the Birds" and Nathaniel Hawthorne's  
"The Old Manse"*

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FURTHER IN SUMMER THAN THE BIRDS" is generally considered to be one of Emily Dickinson's most difficult poems. Its extremely idiosyncratic diction and complete lack of punctuation intensify the obscurity of an ambiguous syntactical structure. As it stands, it is a speculative venture from beginning to end. The result is that we have a poem "difficult" in more than one sense, so difficult, in fact, that critics have been able to interpret it in various, even opposing, ways, while yet agreeing that it is an important or great poem.<sup>1</sup>

What is obviously required is a reading which will provide clarification. For such a task the ideal candidate would be one who has had the same experience as the poet and in addition possesses a poetic sensibility and the rhetorical resources to express complicated ideas. Were he to be a contemporary of Emily Dickinson in place as well as in time, he would bring to bear an authority beyond all challenge. Marvelously, there is such an interpreter, however unexpected his identity. Nathaniel Hawthorne, who died in 1864, about two years before the poem was written, has given us the most satisfactory reading of the poem.

I

In his essay "The Old Manse," which introduced his collection of tales *Mosses from an Old Manse* (1846), Hawthorne engagingly

<sup>1</sup> For the range of diversity of interpretation, see R. P. Adams, "Pure Poetry: Emily Dickinson," *Tulane Studies in English* VII, 150-151 (1957), Charles R. Anderson, *Emily Dickinson's Poetry: Stairway of Surprise* (New York, 1960), pp. 150-156, F. I. Carpenter, *Explicator*, VIII, Item 33 (1950), Richard Chase, *Emily Dickinson* (New York, 1951), pp. 171-172, R. H. and H. L. Elias, *Explicator*, XI, Item 5 (1952), Clark Griffith, *The Long Shadow: Emily Dickinson's Tragic Poetry* (Princeton, 1964), pp. 84-92, T. H. Johnson, *Emily Dickinson: An Interpretive Biography* (Cambridge, Mass., 1955), pp. 185-187, René Rapin, *Explicator*, XII, Item 24 (1954), Marshall Van Deusen, *Explicator*, XIII, Item 33 (1955), Yvor Winters, "Emily Dickinson and the Limits of Judgment," *In Defense of Reason* (New York, 1947), pp. 292-293.

presents a segment of autobiography<sup>2</sup> He writes easily, with a light—even humorous—touch, as though he did not have a care in the world, rambling, as his fancy dictates, from his study to the Concord River, back to the house, and then out of doors again When he comes to an account of an outing he took one beautiful summer afternoon with Ellery Channing, however, his tone becomes more introspective, like Wordsworth, he sees the constant interplay between material objects and their ideal state<sup>3</sup> The sense of Nature, which earlier in the essay had been acknowledged almost formally, is now all-pervasive and leads him to his next ramble This begins with the typical Romantic argument of the superiority of the country to the city, but very quickly changes from an almost commonplace statement to an increasingly personal and intensely felt reaction to the power of Nature, culminating in an ecstatic, mystical experience Because no summary can accurately transmit the developing complexity of ideas as well as the sheer poetic quality of expression, the passage is given in full

If ever my readers should decide to give up civilized life, cities, houses, and whatever moral or material enormities in addition to these the perverted ingenuity of our race has contrived, let it be in the early autumn Then Nature will love him better than at any other season, and will take him to her bosom with a more motherly tenderness I could scarcely endure the roof of the old house above me in those first autumnal days How early in the summer, too, the prophecy of autumn comes! Earlier in some years than in others, sometimes even in the first weeks of July There is no other feeling like what is caused by this faint, doubtful, yet real perception—if it be not rather a foreboding—of the year's decay, so blessedly sweet and sad in the same breath

Did I say that there was no feeling like it? Ah, but there is a half-acknowledged melancholy like to this when we stand in the perfected vigor of our life and feel that Time has now given us all his flowers, and that the next work of his never idle fingers must be to steal them one by one away

I have forgotten whether the song of the cricket be not as early a token of autumn's approach as any other,—that song which may be called an audible stillness, for though very loud and heard afar, yet

<sup>2</sup> Hawthorne moved into the Manse in July, 1842

<sup>3</sup> *The Complete Works of Nathaniel Hawthorne with Introductory Notes by George Parsons Lathrop*, Riverside Edition (Boston, 1883), II, 32 Hereinafter referred to as *Complete Works*

the mind does not take note of it as a sound, so completely is its individual existence merged among the accompanying characteristics of the season. Alas for the pleasant summer time! In August the grass is still verdant on the hills and in the valleys, the foliage of the trees is as dense as ever, and as green, the flowers gleam forth in richer abundance along the margin of the river, and by the stone walls, and deep among the woods, the days, too, are as fervid now as they were a month ago, and yet in every breath of wind and in every beam of sunshine we hear the whispered farewell and behold the parting smile of a dear friend. There is a coolness amid all the heat, a mildness in the blazing noon. Not a breeze can stir but it thrills us with the breath of autumn. A pensive glory is seen in the far golden gleams, among the shadows of the trees. The flowers—even the brightest of them, and they are the most gorgeous of the year—have this gentle sadness wedded to their pomp, and typify the character of the delicious time each within itself. The brilliant cardinal flower has never seemed gay to me.<sup>4</sup>

The "prophecy" of autumn comes early for Hawthorne in these surroundings, sometimes as early as the first weeks of July, but certainly by August, heralded by the song of the cricket, an "audible stillness." Summer is at its full in the "blazing noon" of the August day, yet there is a "pensive glory" in the scene. The flowers, bursting in bloom, "typify the character of the delicious time," the "gentle sadness" which Hawthorne has epitomized as a "half-acknowledged melancholy" in the second paragraph.

And now, in a final, extended statement, Hawthorne breaks into a paean of religious ecstasy, casting off all reserve.

Still later in the season Nature's tenderness waxes stronger. It is impossible not to be fond of our mother now, for she is so fond of us! At other periods she does not make this impression on me, or only at rare intervals, but in those genial days of autumn, when she has perfected her harvests and accomplished every needful thing that was given her to do, then she overflows with a blessed superfluity of love. She has leisure to caress her children now. It is good to be alive at such times. Thank Heaven for breath—yes, for mere breath—when it is made up of a heavenly breeze like this! It comes with a real kiss upon our cheeks, it would linger fondly around us if it might, but, since it must be gone, it embraces us with its whole kindly heart and passes onward to embrace likewise the next thing that it meets. A blessing is flung

<sup>4</sup> *Complete Works*, II, 36-37. The reference to the cardinal flower in the last sentence has its antecedent description three pages earlier (p. 33).

abroad and scattered far and wide over the earth, to be gathered up by all who choose. I recline upon the still unwithered grass and whisper to myself, "O perfect! O beautiful world! O beneficent God!" And it is the promise of a blessed eternity, for our Creator would never have made such lovely days and have given us the deep hearts to enjoy them, above and beyond all thought, unless we were meant to be immortal. This sunshine is the golden pledge thereof. It beams through the gates of paradise and shows us the glimpses far inward.<sup>5</sup>

The source of Hawthorne's ecstasy is dual: the references to God, Creator, eternity, immortality, and paradise are Christian, but the ecstatic praise of Nature, "our mother," with her overflowing love for her children, is purely Romantic—even Transcendental—and utterly pagan.<sup>6</sup>

In the entire passage we see the unfolding of a complicated idea: in the fulness of summer, when not even one blade of grass reveals as yet the sear of autumn, we feel the change to come. As much as—if not more than—anything else, it is the song of the cricket which symbolizes the complex feeling of happiness infused with sadness. Yet there is nothing finally elegiac in this feeling: Nature and God in the recurring cycle of life promise immortality. Like the phrase "audible stillness," which Hawthorne explains in some detail, the second and third paragraphs take on characteristics of oxymoron, in which man's positive and perpetual relation to the totality of his existence is mystically affirmed, neither in spite of nor because of whatever sadness may be involved in such contemplation.

## II

Such appears to be the meaning of this revealing sequence in "The Old Manse." The extent of its relevance to Emily Dickinson's poem may now be judged by an examination of her text:

Further in Summer than the Birds  
 Pathetic from the Grass  
 A minor Nation celebrates  
 It's unobtrusive Mass

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 38

<sup>6</sup> Throughout the essay can be seen Hawthorne's rejection of the dogmatic religion symbolized by the Manse for the more "natural" religion symbolized by the out of doors.

No Ordinance be seen  
So gradual the Grace  
A pensive Custom it becomes  
Enlarging Loneliness

Antiquiest felt at Noon  
When August burning low  
Arise this spectral Canticle  
Repose to typify

Remit as yet no Grace  
No Furrow on the Glow  
Yet a Druidic Difference  
Enhances Nature now<sup>7</sup>

Emily Dickinson, like any other poet—and probably more than most—used her dictionary as she saw fit, selecting the most immediately appropriate definition from among a number given for any word. Nevertheless, a reading of her poem can be derived in its entirety from Hawthorne's passage. We must, however, allow for the compression of her ideas into sixty-four words as against the extension of Hawthorne's prose, with the consequent differentiation in emphasis of these ideas and of their tonal expression.

What is immediately clear is that throughout the poem the language of the liturgy has been used as metaphor to structure the progression of ideas.<sup>8</sup> Equally clear is that through such metaphor the poet wishes to transmit no more than the sense of an emotion, acquired from the solemnity of the occasion, which can be characterized as religious and mystical. Unless we accept the Christian symbols as metaphor only and not as the poet's belief, we shall find it difficult to explain her equally positive use of a pagan metaphor in the last two lines of the poem.

Apart from the spelling error of the first word in line 4 and the ecclesiastical borrowings, there are eight words which require special definition. These definitions, with the exception of the next-to-last, are approved, although not necessarily the most common, and all of them serve to clarify the poem.

<sup>7</sup> From *The Poems of Emily Dickinson*, ed. Thomas H. Johnson (Cambridge, Mass., 1955), II, 752.

<sup>8</sup> Line 3 celebrates, line 4 Mass, line 5 Ordinance, line 6 gradual, Grace, line 11 Canticle, line 13 Remit, Grace.



- line 1 Further to a greater extent  
 2 Pathetic affecting or moving the feelings  
 7 pensive expressing thoughtfulness or sadness  
 9 Antiquet [the poet's coinage, the superlative of *antique* ancient]  
 11 spectral [synonymous with *ghostly*] spiritual  
 13 Remit slacken, abate  
 15 Druidic [proposed definition] prophetic  
 16 Enhances raises to a higher degree, intensifies, magnifies, raises the value of

Additionally, the following observations may be made

- 1 Both authors are creatively inspired by the song of the cricket,<sup>9</sup>
- 2 Emily Dickinson uses two of Hawthorne's significant words (pensive, typify),<sup>10</sup>
- 3 The intense emotion comes at noon in August, and the descriptive and emotional aura is precisely the same in both texts both authors are describing what is for them a state of grace, Hawthorne implicitly ("above and beyond all thought") and Dickinson explicitly,
- 4 The element of sadness (Hawthorne's "half-acknowledged melancholy", Emily Dickinson's "Enlarging Loneliness") comes in the middle of both texts, in the poem precisely so, but by the end of both texts this element has been assimilated In the poem the musical-mystical harbinger of autumn magnifies (Enhances) Nature in this most ancient of rituals within which man takes his natural place

Both texts end with the same declaration man is not alien in the scheme of things, to be alone is not to be isolated There is an affirmative acceptance of an eternal verity Hawthorne is explicit in his acceptance of the continuum of immortality, and if Emily Dickinson is explicit only in stating that this has always been Nature's

<sup>9</sup> Emily Dickinson entitled another version of this poem "My Cricket" See Charles R. Anderson, pp 152-153, and T. H. Johnson, *Emily Dickinson*, p 185

<sup>10</sup> Each reader can decide for himself the relationship to the poem of other words found in Hawthorne's passage and in the essay generally For example antique (pp 28, 31), antiquity (p 27), grass (p 37), and furrows (p 22)

way, her statement is implicitly both a projection for the future and an acceptance<sup>11</sup>

### III

To go beyond this point in explication would be an imposition upon the reader's inalienable right to experience the poem finally on his own terms. But nagging questions persist. Is Hawthorne's text merely parallel, only a remarkable coincidence? Or did Emily Dickinson read Hawthorne's passage in "The Old Manse" and transform it to her poetic purpose? There is no specific evidence for such an assertion. We know that she read Hawthorne, as did her brother, that she could in a letter to him refer to Hepzibah and Clifford Pyncheon in a manner indicating close familiarity with *The House of the Seven Gables*.<sup>12</sup> All this beyond the reasonable assumption that Emily, the avid reader, would have read her fellow New Englander from cover to cover. If we do have a coincidence, then it strains the law of probability to the breaking point. It is easier to believe that Emily Dickinson read "The Old Manse," found in Hawthorne's passage confirmation of her own complex responses, and wrote her poetic version of the passage, thereby almost miraculously enhancing her own nature the more.

<sup>11</sup> Hawthorne's and Emily Dickinson's utterances invite comparison with Emerson's poem "Waldeinsamkeit" (1858).

<sup>12</sup> Jay Leyda, *The Years and Hours of Emily Dickinson* (New Haven, 1960), I, 223. In October, 1851, Austin Dickinson wrote to Susan Gilbert, who became his wife in 1856, listing *Mosses from an Old Manse* among other books "piled on my shelf & scattered over my table" (Leyda, I, 218).

# *Major Perry and the Monitor CAMANCHE* *An Early Mark Twain Speech*

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ON JUNE 12, 1864, Mark Twain addressed a select audience from the stage of Maguire's Opera House in San Francisco. His entire speech was featured the following day on the front page of the San Francisco *Daily Alta California*. It honored Major Edward C. Perry, who had helped to raise the ship *Aquila* and its cargo, the dismantled monitor *Camanche*, from the floor of San Francisco harbor. Grateful citizens with Mark Twain as their spokesman had gathered in the Opera House to present the Major with an elegant cane. When Twain spoke he had been in California less than two weeks and even more recently had gone to work as the local reporter for the *Daily Morning Call*. With the exception of "Governor" Twain's political burlesque, the Third House address of December 11, 1863, before the Nevada State Constitutional Convention in Carson City, his Opera House speech in 1864 is the earliest for which we have a text. It helps us to assess more accurately Twain's progress as a public speaker and his reputation in the West long before the smash hit of his Sandwich Islands lecture in 1866. Also it reveals his connection with a situation of potential military danger facing San Francisco during the Civil War, an imbroglio not without its elements of fateful absurdity.

## I THE *Camanche*

During the war the possibility of an attack on San Francisco by Confederate warships or those of an intervening foreign power was a matter of concern to the city and to the War Department. As late as August, 1864, a *Call* editorial argued that a hostile man-of-war might take advantage of fog and current to slip by the land fortifications of the outer harbor. With its guns trained on the city, the armed frigate

could levy any contribution desired, and enforce it by a threat of destroying our shipping and city in case the grand cash were not forth-

with coming. Then, with our gold, and a hundred leading citizens on board as a shield against molestation on her passage out, we should be helpless against her. There is not a gun that could trouble her as she lay off our wharves<sup>1</sup>

Three weeks earlier General Irvin McDowell, commander of the Department of the Pacific, had inspected the harbor fortifications and had found them inadequate to repulse determined enemy action.<sup>2</sup> Yet this harbor was the most important on the Coast, and Union treasure ships regularly sailed from it. In view of the military need it is not surprising, then, that relatively early in the war the federal government had assigned the monitor *Camanche*, a mobile fortress, to San Francisco harbor.<sup>3</sup>

The *Camanche* was a single-turret ironclad armed with two 15-inch Dahlgren smooth-bore guns. Two hundred feet long and of 1,875 tons displacement, it was manufactured on the East Coast, given a trial assembly and dismantled, and then in May, 1863, shipped around the Horn on the *Aquila* for reassembly at the Union Iron Works in San Francisco. After an arduous voyage the *Aquila* arrived safely at San Francisco harbor and docked at Hathaway's wharf November 15. The next day under gale winds and battered by heavy seas the *Aquila* sank alongside the wharf. A reporter for the *Alta California* voiced the general consternation in his lead article: "The community could scarcely believe that a vessel containing so precious a cargo would, after having so successfully run the gauntlet of piratical craft, storms, accidents, etc., and reached

<sup>1</sup> "Harbor Fortifications, Aug 4, 1864, p. 2. Military and civil officials had elaborated the same argument for some time. See *The War of the Rebellion* (Washington, D.C., 1897), Series I, Vol. L, Part II, pp. 294, 568, 929-930 (hereafter cited as *Rebellion*), 'An Important Suggestion,' *San Francisco Daily Morning Call*, July 12, 1864, p. 1 (hereafter cited as *Call*).

<sup>2</sup> See his report to General Delafield, *Rebellion* Series I, Vol. L, Part II, pp. 921-923.

<sup>3</sup> For the *Camanche* see *Rebellion* Series I, Vol. L, Part II, pp. 320, 322, 328, 391-392, *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion* (hereafter cited as *Official Records*), Series I (Washington, D.C., 1895), II, 216, and Series II (Washington, D.C., 1921), I, 50. Frank M. Bennett, *The Steam Navy of the United States* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1896), pp. 339-340. Homer C. Votaw, "The Curious Case of the *Camanche*," *United States Naval Institute Proceedings* LXXXII, 792-793 (July, 1956), Ruth Teiser, "The Charleston: An Industrial Milestone," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XXV, 39-53 (March, 1946), Benjamin Franklin Gilbert, "San Francisco Harbor Defense During the Civil War," *ibid.* XXXIII, 229-240 (Sept., 1954), in the *Call* "The Monitor Camanche," June 30, 1864, p. 2, and "Camanche Matters," Sept. 20, 1864, p. 1, "The Day of Ironclads—Launch of the Camanche," *San Francisco Daily Alta California* (hereafter cited as *Alta*), Nov. 14, 1864, p. 1.

her destined haven, go down so ingloriously and ignominiously [*sic*] within a stone's throw of our business thoroughfare"<sup>4</sup>

The New York Board of Underwriters had insured the *Camanche* for \$600,000. The Board's local agent directed an effort to pump the water from the *Aquila*, but this and other schemes to float the ship and remove the *Camanche* failed. Work stopped, and an editorial writer for the *Call* lamented the loss of "one of the most potent arms of defense which the genius of modern times has devised," at the very moment "our position was considered, by military men, sufficiently exposed to require an ironclad at as early a date as possible"<sup>5</sup>. However, negotiations in the East between the contractors, the insurance agency, and the Navy Department soon led to the dispatch of the underwriters' crew of wreckers and divers, a group including Major Perry and headed by Captain J. J. Merritt.<sup>6</sup> Once the crew was in San Francisco, plans were laid to extract the dismantled *Camanche* from the hold of the *Aquila* and to deliver the monitor's sections for reassembly at Steamboat Point near the foot of Third Street. Captain Merritt and his crew then went to work. They successfully erected a cofferdam around the after-hatch of the *Aquila* and bit by bit brought the *Camanche* ashore.

By April 27 the contractors had all sections of the monitor, including turret and guns. Late in May the crew were able to raise the *Aquila* but were still scooping mud from her hold in early June. The *Alta California* reported on June 12 "The *Aquila* is, thank Heaven, absolutely afloat, and riding at anchor in the Bay"<sup>7</sup>. The

<sup>4</sup> "Continuance of the Gale—Sinking of the Ship 'Aquila' . . .," Nov. 11, 1863, p. 1. Also see in the *Alta* 'The Gale and Its Effects,' Nov. 16, 1863, p. 1, a letter from the contractors Peter Donahue and James T. Ryan, Nov. 17, 1863, p. 1, 'Temporary Loss of the 'Camanche'' (a letter from 'Monitor'), Nov. 17, 1863, p. 2, 'The Camanche'—Card from Mr. Ryan," Dec. 9, 1863, p. 1.

<sup>5</sup> 'Is the Camanche Irrecoverably Lost?,' Dec. 19, 1863, p. 2. California and Nevada papers frequently carried news of the salvage attempts. The *Napa Register* of Jan. 2, 1864, reported what may have been a comment of Mark Twain's in Virginia City. The *Virginia Enterprise* speaking of the innumerable futile schemes for raising the *Aquila*, suggests 'first, a coffer dam, second, a tinker's dam, third, a continental dam.' I am indebted to Professor Paul Fatout for the reference.

<sup>6</sup> Captain Merritt was an experienced engineer formerly with the United States Gunboat Service. He and his crew of fourteen arrived Jan. 17 on the *Golden City*. See in the *Alta* 'The Wreckers Arrived,' Jan. 18, 1864, p. 1, and 'A Lucky Major,' Aug. 5, 1864, p. 3, 'From Panama,' *Call*, Jan. 19, 1864, p. 1.

<sup>7</sup> "At Anchor," p. 1. The local reporters were bored with the *Aquila*, later irreverently described in the *Call* as 'the drowned and poor old fished up, mud ridden, worm eaten, barnacled, bescrewed by-newspaper reporters, *Aquila*.' See 'To Be Mended,' Aug. 7, 1864, p. 2. The ship's sale and further reclamation still lay ahead, and on March 17,

next day Captain Merritt, Major Perry, and the crew left for the East on the *Constitution*

The work of reassembly did not immediately begin, however, because of a dispute between the underwriters and the contractors, Donahue and Ryan, over the payment of insurance claims. To forestall litigation that would have delayed construction even more, the San Francisco Board of Supervisors on July 11 pledged the city's credit for \$60,000 to the contractors, an action supported by the *Call* as well worth the cost. The work then proceeded rapidly, and by early September the tightness of the hull was being tested. On October 16 the city welcomed the new iron gunboat *Wateree*, a ship of approximately 1,000 tons and "sharp as a knife at either end, being intended to run either end foremost with equal facility."<sup>8</sup>

Everyone felt confident that the land batteries together with the gunboat and the monitor could destroy any hostile ship that might approach. On the morning of November 14, about a month after Mark Twain had left the employ of the *Call*, the *Camanche* was launched. The *Call* reporter wrote

Craft of every description, from the frail Whitehall boat to the steamer, crowded the surface of the Bay, all alive with spectators, while within the enclosure, where the *Camanche* rested on her wooden track, and on the docks and at every accessible point from which even an imperfect view could be had, swarmed men, women and children. The United States revenue cutter occupied a position opposite the ways to announce the baptism with a salute. Two bands of music enlivened the occasion with appropriate airs. About two hundred specially invited guests were assembled on the deck of the monitor, and when the last prop that held her fast was removed and the *Camanche* commenced to slide gently down the ways, a shout went up from the assembled multitude which died away when she floated safe and free on the surface of the Bay, beneath whose waters she for so long a time lay entombed.<sup>9</sup>

1865, C. H. Webb reported in the *Sacramento Daily Union* that the *Aquila* was to be equipped and provisioned for a voyage to Puget Sound, then to France. See Letter from San Francisco, p. 3.

<sup>8</sup> Arrival of the *Wateree*, *Alta*, Oct. 17, 1864, p. 1. See also *Official Records*, Series II, Vol. I, p. 237. The assignment of the *Wateree* as well as the *Camanche* to the Bay area was in line with the War Department's "prudent policy of depending upon 'floating defenses' to protect large areas of the bay. See the letter dated Aug. 10, 1864, from General Delafield to General McDowell in *Rebellion*, Series I, Vol. L, Part II, pp. 936-937.

<sup>9</sup> 'Launch of the "Camanche,"' *Call*, Nov. 15, 1864, p. 1. See also 'Successful Launch of the "Camanche,"' *Alta*, Nov. 15, 1864, p. 1, "Launch of the Monitor, Camanche," *Pacific Monthly*, XI, 844 (Nov., 1864). Bret Harte wrote of the sinking and the launching

Launched with such éclat, the *Camanche*, after a long and peaceful career, ended her service to San Francisco as a coal barge before being junked in the mid-1920's<sup>10</sup>

## II MAJOR PERRY

A reasonable inference from Mark Twain's speech is that Major Edward C. Perry played a leading role in reclaiming the *Camanche*. It is therefore surprising to find no additional contemporary reference to him in San Francisco papers. Military records,<sup>11</sup> however, reveal that when he sailed from San Francisco, his assignment completed, he was forty-one years of age and a veteran of the Union Army, having been mustered out a year earlier—June 25, 1863—in New York City. Perry had enlisted on June 17, 1861, in the Bronx as Captain of Company E in the Fifteenth New York Regiment of Infantry. On October 25 this regiment was designated Fifteenth New York Volunteer Engineers (New York Sappers and Miners) and soon became attached to the Army of the Potomac in its campaign on the Peninsula. Perry led one of the several detachments into which the troops of the Fifteenth Regiment customarily were grouped for active assignments. He was commissioned major on November 1, 1862, and was cited for meritorious service in connection with landings near West Point, New Bridge, and Yorktown.<sup>12</sup>

A less favorable view of Major Perry may be found in *Life in the Union Army, or, Notings and Reminiscences of a Two Years' Volunteer* (New York, 1864) by Don Pedro Quaerendo Reminisco, the pseudonym taken by the Orderly of Major—later commanding Colonel of the regiment—G. C. Colgate. This book is a detailed history of the Fifteenth New York Volunteer Engineers written in rhymed couplets of fourteen syllables. Reminisco's ulterior purpose was to expose the injustices suffered by the privates and to satirize

of the *Camanche* in two humorous poems reprinted in his collected writings 'Song of the Camanche,' and 'A Lay of the Launch

<sup>10</sup> Votaw, pp. 792, 793.

<sup>11</sup> For information about Major Perry, I am indebted to the Librarian of the National Archives, to Mr. William G. Tyrrell of the Division of Archives and History, New York State Education Department, and to Colonel John V. Gallagher, Bureau of War Records, New York Executive Department. Perry is mentioned in the account of his regiment given in Frederick Phisterer, *New York in the War of the Rebellion* (3rd ed., Albany, 1912), II, 1650-1669.

<sup>12</sup> Letters in the National Archives, *Rebellion*, Series I, Vol. XI, pp. 124, 138, 142, 147, 619, XXV, Part II, p. 417. Phisterer (p. 1651) lists the engagements the regiment took part in.

the officers. He attacked Perry first as a goldbricking captain on recruiting detail in New York City late in August, 1861. Also he took a gloating delight in Perry's inept performance during General McDowell's full-dress review at Fort Ward on March 25, 1862. With President Lincoln, congressmen, high government officials, foreign ministers, and Generals McClellan, Franklin, and Kearney all looking on, Major Perry

A great man in appearance, as he was  
in self-conceit,  
In ordering the men to bring their pieces  
to "a shoulder,"  
And, finding that they all stood still,  
grew fiercer and much bolder  
Reiterating loudly, "Shoulder, arms!"  
without a stir,  
He then found out that they at "shoulder  
arms" already were (p 106)

Three and one half months after making this blunder, Perry tendered his resignation from the army, a request ultimately rejected by General McClellan. His letter requesting discharge stated that he was on leave from his employer, the New York Board of Underwriters, "now much in need of my services"<sup>18</sup>. That he was both a valued employee of the company that insured the *Camanche* and also a man trained in marine engineering no doubt indicates his important dual role in the reclamation of the monitor. Mark Twain's speech leaves little doubt that the presentation of the cane to Major Perry was a tribute to his personal popularity. Probably the ceremony also was a conciliatory gesture by community leaders intended to indicate good will toward the New York Board of Underwriters, thereby speeding the negotiations between the board and the local contractor that were then delaying reassembly of the monitor. In any event, once the city backed its intentions with a pledge of hard cash, work on the *Camanche* sped to a conclusion.

### III THE SPEECH

The report of Mark Twain's speech in the *Alta California* was the lead article in the column "City Items"

<sup>18</sup> National Archives



PARTING PRESENTATION—A most interesting and affecting ceremony was performed on the stage of Maguire's Opera House, at 3 P.M. yesterday, a large number of gentlemen having assembled to witness the presentation of a cane to Major Perry, the beautiful and accomplished engineer, of Capt Merritt's wrecking party, who leaves by the *Constitution* this morning, for the East. The cane weighs something less than twelve pounds, and might have been copied from Emperor Norton's<sup>14</sup>. The presentation speech was written upon a parchment seven feet long, by three and a half feet in width, and magnificently illuminated, and while it was being read by Mark Twain, Esq[ ], of Virginia City, the entire audience was dissolved in tears. We have, at an immense expense, secured a copy of this eloquent production, and give it to our readers verbatim. It is as follows:

Major Perry—Permit me, sir, on the part of your countless friends, the noble sons of the forest—the Diggers, the Pi-Utes, the Washoes, the Shoshones, and the numberless and nameless tribes of aborigines that roam the deserts of the Great Basin to the eastward of the snowy mountains further north—to present you this costly and beautiful *cane*, reared under their own eyes, and fashioned by their own inspired hands. The red men whom I represent, although visibly black from the wear and tear of out door life, from contact with the impurities of the earth, and from the absence of soap and their natural indifference to water, admire the unblemished virtue and the spotless integrity which they find in you, albeit these dusty savages are arrayed in rabbit skins and their princely blood is food for the very vermin they cherish and protect, they still respect you, because your repugnance to graybacks—either in the way of food or society—and your antipathy to the skins of wild beasts as raiment, is bold, undisguised and honest, finally, although these dingy warriors see no blood upon your hands, no human bones about your neck, no scalps suspended from your belt, they behold in you a brave whom they delight to honor—for they see you, in fancy, on the war-path in the three fights on the Bull's Run field, again in the historic seven-days' struggle before Richmond, and again sweeping down the lines with McClellan, in the fire and smoke and thunder of battle at Antietam, with a wound in your leg and blood in your eye! and they honor you as they would a High-you-muck-a-muck of many tribes, with crimson blankets and a hundred squaws. I am charged to say to you, that if you will visit the campoodies of the nomads of the desert, you shall fare sumptuously upon crickets and grasshoppers and the fat of the land, the

<sup>14</sup> The cane carried by Joshua Abraham Norton was well known to San Franciscans

skin of the wild coyote shall be your bed, and the daughters of the chiefs shall serve you

Receive the cane kindly—cherish it in memory of your savage friends in San Francisco, and bear in mind always the lesson it teaches its head is formed of a human hand clasping a fish—the hand will cling to the fish through good or evil fortune, until one or the other is destroyed And the moral it teaches is this When you undertake a thing, stick to it through storm and sunshine, never flinch—never yield an inch—never give up—*hold your grip* till you bust!

You have been a citizen of San Francisco four months, Major Perry, you came to raise the Aquila, with Captain Merritt, and you did it, and did it well—she rides at anchor in the bay You held your grip The consciousness of your success will be half your reward—and the other half will be duly paid in greenbacks by the Government<sup>15</sup> Your labors finished, you are now about to leave us to-morrow for your old home across the seas, and we are here to bid you God speed and a safe voyage

In the name of Winnemucca, War Chief of the Pi-Utes, Sioux-Sioux, Chief of the Washoes, Buckskin Joe, Chief of the Pitt Rivers, Buffalo Jim, Chief of the Bannocks, Washakie, Grand Chief of the Shoshones,<sup>16</sup> and further, in the names of the lordly chiefs of all the swarthy tribes that breathe the free air of the hills and plains of the Pacific Coast, I salute you Behold! they stand before you—thirsty

MARK TWAIN,  
High-you-muck-a-muck

Tim McCarthy appeared as the representative of the Pi-Utes, and D Scannell for the Shoshones<sup>17</sup>

Mark Twain the local reporter surely remained aware of the publicized *Camanche* for the next few months, but neither the

<sup>15</sup> Paper currency was quoted at 52½ to 53½ cents on the dollar See Pacific Board of Brokers, June 13, 1864, San Francisco *Evening Bulletin*, June 13, 1864, p 3 Resistance to accepting greenbacks as legal tender was widespread and vigorous in California

<sup>16</sup> Winnemucca and Washakie were well-known Indian chiefs I have been unable to find a record of the others—are they comic inventions?—although such names as Joe, Jim, John, and George were common among Indians

<sup>17</sup> Tim McCarthy was Thomas Maguire's partner in the large gambling saloon adjoining Maguire's Opera House Later he was a city supervisor and member of the California Senate See Dictation of M H De Young, Bancroft Library, Berkeley, R R Parkinson, *Pen Portraits* (San Francisco, 1878), p 31 David Scannell, sheriff of San Francisco County in 1856 at the time of the Second Vigilante Committee, was chief engineer of the city's volunteer fire department from 1861 to 1866 and chief of the paid fire department until 1894 Like McCarthy, Scannell was a member of the white tribe of Pi-Utes, a term usually reserved for early California or Nevada settlers See *San Francisco News Letter and Wasp*, LXXXI, back cover (Oct 29, 1937), Result of the Firemen's Election, *Call* Dec 8, 1863, p 1, Another Presentation, *Alta*, July 24, 1864, p 1

*Camanche* nor Major Perry seems to have figured in his later life and fiction. When Twain spoke in the Opera House it is likely he had known Major Perry a few days at most. Identified as "Mark Twain, Esq[ ], of Virginia City," presumably he was not yet thought of as a permanent resident of San Francisco.<sup>18</sup> Yet despite this tenuous connection with the occasion and the city, he was selected master of ceremonies for the presentation. Obviously he was known to numerous San Franciscans through his Washoe journalism and his past visits. One can guess that his pungent personality, his wit, his camaraderie, and his willingness to be counted among the "thirsty" influenced the selection. His speech therefore is a token of the high regard some community leaders had for Mark Twain as a man and a humorist in 1864.

His speech also should remind us that in 1864 Mark Twain was more practiced and admired as a public speaker than we usually recognize. The address to Major Perry marks at least the eighth or ninth time he had entertained an audience from the platform or standing at table. His initial effort, the after-dinner remarks made in Keokuk on January 27, 1856, is said to have effectively combined wit and pathos. On July 8, 1863, he made one of several speeches at the opening of the Collins House in Virginia City. The *Virginia Evening Bulletin* reported "Perhaps the speech of the evening was made by Sam Clemens. Those not familiar with this young man do not know the depths of tenderness in his nature. He almost brought the house to tears by his touching simple pathos." A few weeks later he responded to a toast to the press at a dinner celebrating the arrival of a new engine for Eagle Engine Company No. 3 of Virginia City. Still later, according to the *Gold Hill Daily News* of October 26, he and some friends took part in a "series of 'high old' drunks, making as an excuse for their debauchery, the presentation of 'Stars' to policemen." In "A Tide of Eloquence," reprinted from the *Virginia City Territorial Enterprise* in the *Golden Era* of December 6, 1863, he burlesqued himself as a speaker at a recent presentation. There followed his Third House speech on December 11 and, for

<sup>18</sup> Possibly Mark Twain wrote the introduction to his speech. Albert S. Evans (Fitz Smythe) was the city editor of the *Alta* and presumably Evans featured the speech in his column, the only source I have found that mentions the occasion. The running feud between Clemens and Evans was soon to begin in the *Call* and the *Alta*. For some later documents in that feud, see *Mark Twain: San Francisco Correspondent*, ed. Henry Nash Smith and Frederick Anderson (San Francisco, 1957), pp. 17-47.

the Third Territorial Legislature and the First Presbyterian Church of Carson City, another Third House address January 27, 1864, a speech Mark Twain and others thought highly of. Finally, on February 20 in still another burlesque ceremony Twain presented a huge comb to his friend William H. Clagett before the assembled House of the Territorial Legislature. The presentation speech to Major Perry may be seen as a relatively ambitious effort by Mark Twain, one of a series of public appearances in which the burlesque and comedy do not entirely obscure whatever underlying seriousness may have been appropriate on each occasion.<sup>19</sup>

The speech itself is far from being the flexible, expressive platform instrument he was to develop. It is patterned on the type of complimentary address given at the extremely popular "presentation affair," usually an all-male gathering, and it heavily exploits the humor of good fellowship. It follows some clichés of Indian humor, although in this respect it also draws upon ideas and imagery found in a letter Sam Clemens published two years before in the *Keokuk Gate City*.<sup>20</sup> The speech, however, was carefully fashioned and climaxed for the purpose it served. It reveals characteristic patterns of Mark Twain's emerging rhetoric, including the juxtaposition of the high and low modes. Major Perry is imagined "sweeping down the lines with McClellan" and eating crickets and grasshoppers in the campoodies of the Diggers. What the speech says and its manner of saying it must have insured its success on an occasion less drenched in tears than in liquor. Finally, a reasonable guess is that Mark Twain's memory of his debut as a speaker in San Francisco was a factor in his fruitful decision made some two years later to take the platform there once again.

<sup>19</sup> For the occasions referred to above, see Paul Fatout, *Mark Twain on the Lecture Circuit* (Bloomington, Ind., 1960), p. 23, Notebook 4, Carton 3, Grant Smith Papers, Bancroft Library, Berkeley, *The Washoe Giant in San Francisco*, ed. Franklin Walker (San Francisco, 1938), p. 66, *Mark Twain of the Enterprise*, ed. Henry Nash Smith with the assistance of Frederick Anderson (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1957), pp. 100-109, 144-147, 167, 177.

<sup>20</sup> June 25, 1862, p. 1, reprinted in Franklin R. Rogers, *The Pattern for Mark Twain's Roughing It* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1961), pp. 35-40.

# *American Dramatic Periodicals* *with Only One Issue, 1798-1959*

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ONE IMPORTANT AREA of the American theater which has been neglected in historical studies of dramatic activity is the area of the American dramatic periodical, whose pages are the "abstract and brief chronicles" of the passing show. One obvious reason for such neglect is that no one has undertaken the preliminary step of gathering and publishing the titles and library locations of the hundreds of American dramatic periodicals upon which such a study would be based. Perhaps another reason for the lack of such a history is that no individual library, or even select group of libraries, contains copies of the majority of the American dramatic periodicals.

While the present list makes no pretense of locating all American dramatic periodicals, it does concern itself with one small but important segment of the task, namely, locating the titles of those periodicals whose literary life began and ended with their first issue. The following pages present the titles of some seventy-six of these one-issue American dramatic periodicals, either as they still exist in specified libraries, or as periodicals about which the only information we possess is the title and original date of publication.<sup>1</sup>

Why a periodical disappears from the literary scene after only one issue is something of a mystery, and I pretend to no knowledge of the subject beyond the obvious conclusion that its disappearance results from a lack of funds, a lack of readers, or both. What I do find significant, however, is that of the relatively high number of such magazines unable to survive the first year of publication, the highest rate of mortality lies with those unable to survive the first issue. Nor is this rate of attrition something peculiar to the United States, for I find that it holds equally true for dramatic periodicals published in England.

To indicate more clearly what I mean I offer the results of my

<sup>1</sup> Of the 76 periodicals listed in this survey I am able to locate 29 in various libraries in the United States, the remaining 47 exist, as far as I know, only in their titles.

survey of some 550 American dramatic periodicals<sup>2</sup> and 674 English dramatic periodicals<sup>3</sup> which were not able to survive beyond one year or beyond twelve issues. The American dramatic periodicals span the years 1798-1959, while the English magazines cover the period 1720-1959. To make the figures more meaningful I deliberately exclude from this survey annuals and magazines which cover two or more volumes, as these latter may then be regarded as more or less successful. I also exclude magazines which merged with other periodicals after the first issue. The following table contains the results of the survey arranged in three columns showing the total number of issues a journal survives, the number of American dramatic periodicals, and the number of English dramatic periodicals.

NUMBER OF ISSUES	AMERICAN PERIODICALS	ENGLISH PERIODICALS
1	76	67
2	13	27
3	10	25
4	12	21
5	10	23
6	4	21
7	5	16
8	2	19
9	2	6
10	5	10
11	1	7
12	4	12

In terms of percentage this table indicates two things: (a) that 13.8 per cent of American and 10.5 per cent of British dramatic periodicals failed to survive the first issue, (b) that 26 per cent of American dramatic periodicals (147 out of 550) and 37 per cent of English dramatic periodicals (254 out of 674) did not extend beyond twelve issues, or beyond the first year. Perhaps an examination of the magazines themselves would show that they contained within

<sup>2</sup> I am attempting at the present time to gather a complete bibliography of American dramatic periodicals.

<sup>3</sup> The figures for the English dramatic periodicals are based on my work entitled *A Bibliography of British Dramatic Periodicals 1720-1960* (New York: New York Public Library, 1962).

themselves the key to their apparent failure after only one issue. Unfortunately, 47 of the 76 do not seem to be in any of the standard libraries in the United States.

That I was unable to discover the 47 dramatic periodicals whose life seemingly extended no further than the initial issue does not mean that every copy of these periodicals has disappeared, it is entirely possible that some librarian may have decided that these single issues were to be retained rather than discarded as ephemera taking up badly needed shelf space. Further, although I have listed only the first issue of the periodicals—as reported in the *Bulletin of Bibliography*, and which I assume are not bibliographical ghosts—this fact does not preclude the possibility that a second or even a third issue was actually published, and may rest unnoticed upon the shelf of some library. For the 29 periodicals which I have been able to locate in a specific library the same caution holds true. That is, I do not imply that all these magazines necessarily ceased to exist after the first issue; all that I can and do say is that I was successful in locating a first, and only a first, issue of each periodical.<sup>5</sup>

For the 76 magazines whose life was limited to the initial issue I attempt in the following list to give the following information whenever available: (a) full title, (b) editor, if known, (c) city of publication, (d) publisher, with address, (e) date of first issue,

<sup>4</sup> For 47 of the magazines my only source of information is the *Bulletin of Bibliography* from 1901 through 1939, wherein these works are listed. In my search for the 47 titles, as well as for the 29 periodicals which I was able to locate—and including the several hundred other American dramatic periodicals which I have found—I combed the *Union List of Serials*, together with *New Serial Titles*, and searched the card catalogs of such institutions as the Library of Congress, the Boston Public Library, Harvard University Library, Brown University Library, the Public Library of Hartford, Yale University Library, the New Haven Public Library, Columbia University Library, the New York Public Library, Fordham University Library, the New York Historical Society Library, the University of Pennsylvania Library, the Free Library of Pennsylvania, Princeton University Library, Rutgers University Library, Detroit Public Library, the Library of Wayne State University, the University of Michigan Library, Chicago University Library, the Chicago Public Library, Newberry Library, Loyola University of Chicago Library, De Paul University Library, the University of Notre Dame Library, the University of Wisconsin Library, the University of Minnesota Library, the Public Library of Minneapolis, the University of Missouri Library, the St. Louis Public Library, the St. Louis University Library, Washington University Library, the University of Kansas Library, Cincinnati Public Library, the University of Colorado Library, the Denver Public Library, and the University of Wyoming Library.

<sup>5</sup> If anyone has further information concerning any of the 76 periodicals, or knows of even other periodicals which appeared for only one issue, I will be grateful if he will write to me or publish his findings.

(f) frequency of publication as stated in the magazine, (g) library location, or page reference in the *Bulletin of Bibliography*

1798

- 1 *Thespian Oracle, or, Monthly Mirror, Consisting of Original Pieces and Selections from Performances of Merit, Relating Chiefly to the Most Admired Dramatic Compositions* Philadelphia Printed for T B Freeman, No 39, South Front Street Vol 1, No 1 January, 1798

Boston Public Library, and University Microfilms

1854

- 2 *The Interlude* New York [Playbill for the New York Theatre?] Vol 1, No 1 Monday, September 18, 1854  
New-York Historical Society

1866

- 3 *Dramatic Mirror* A Journal of Theatrical Literature Contributed by Members of the Dramatic Profession Editor T C Faulkner New York No 1 October, 1866  
Boston Public Library

1873

- 4 *Musical Bouquet* A Monthly Periodical Devoted to Music, Art, Literature, and Useful Information Connected with the Drama New York Vol 1, No 1 October, 1873 Monthly  
Library of Congress

1901

- 5 *Buffalo Amusement Guide* Buffalo, New York 410 Ellicott Square Vol 1, No 1 March 30, 1901 Weekly [*Bulletin of Bibliography*, II (July, 1901), 125]
- 6 *Theatre and Amusement Guide to Pittsburgh, Allegheny and Suburbs* Allegheny Vol 1, No 1 October 28, 1901 Weekly  
Library of Congress
- 7 *The Theatre Resumé* Minneapolis, Minnesota 630 Guaranty Building Vol 1, No 1 December, 1901 Monthly  
Harvard University Library

1902

- 8 *Footlights* New York Vol 1, No 1 November, 1902 Monthly  
\*[Supposed to be the successor to *Play and Players Bulletin of Bibliography*, III (April, 1903), 79]



- 9 *The Green Room* Boston, Massachusetts 610 Barrister's Hall Vol 1, No 1 November, 1902 Monthly [*Bulletin of Bibliography*, III (January, 1903), 60]

## 1903

- 10 *The First Nighter* New York 241 West 23rd Street Vol 1, No 1 November 25, 1903 Weekly [*Bulletin of Bibliography*, III (April, 1904), 146]
- 11 *Hebrew Actors Protective Union of New York Journal* Herausgegeben von die judische Aktoren Union zu seiner 4ten Jahresfest New York, den 27 December, 1903 New York Lipschitz, 1903 New York Public Library
- 12 *The Stage Aspirant* A Monthly Magazine Devoted to Dramatic Art Editor John William Schmidt New York Published by The Stage Aspirant Publishing Company, 500 Fifth Avenue Vol 1, No 1 November, 1903 Monthly New York Public Library

## 1905

- 13 *Once a Month* New York Published by Alice Kauser, 1432 Broadway Vol 1, No 1 October, 1905 Monthly New York Public Library
- 14 *The Play* New York 1947 Broadway Vol 1, No 1 October, 1905 Monthly [*Bulletin of Bibliography*, IV (April, 1906), 107]
- 15 *The Repertoire Magazine* Brooklyn, New York 1008 Fulton Street Vol 1, No 1 December, 1905 Monthly [*Bulletin of Bibliography*, IV (April, 1906), 108]

## 1906

- 16 *The Amateur Thespian* Brooklyn, New York 227 Lincoln Road Vol 1, No 1 January, 1906 Monthly [*Bulletin of Bibliography*, IV (July, 1906), 123]
- 17 *The Theatrical Star* New York 19 Park Place Vol 1, No 1 January, 1906 Weekly [*Bulletin of Bibliography*, IV (April, 1906), 108]
- 18 *Vaudeville* New York 1402 Broadway Vol 1, No 1 August, 1906 Bi-monthly [*Bulletin of Bibliography*, IV (January, 1907), 159]

## 1907

- 19 *The Opera House Guide* Cincinnati, Ohio 416 Elm Street Vol 1, No 1 July, 1907 Monthly [*Bulletin of Bibliography*, V (January, 1909), 155]

- 20 *Theatre-goers Magazine* New York Publication of the Theatre-goers Club of America Vol 1, No 1 March, 1907  
Harvard University Library

- 21 *Theatrical News* Chicago, Illinois Opera House Block, Vol 1, No 1 December, 1907 Weekly [*Bulletin of Bibliography*, V (April, 1908), 87]

1908

- 22 *Amusement World* Chicago, Illinois 164 E Randolph Street Vol 1, No 1 January 18, 1908 Weekly [*Bulletin of Bibliography*, V (July, 1908), 110]

- 23 *Memphis Weekly Amusement Guide* Memphis, Tennessee Vol 1, No 1 July, 1908 Weekly [*Bulletin of Bibliography*, V (April, 1909), 177]

- 24 *Theatre World* New York Vol 1, No 1 November, 1908 Monthly In Hebrew [*Bulletin of Bibliography*, V (April, 1909), 178]

1909

- 25 *The Jewish Dramatic World* New York 203 E Broadway Vol 1, No 1 March, 1909 Monthly [*Bulletin of Bibliography*, V (July, 1909), 207]

- 26 *Stageland and Society* Philadelphia, Pennsylvania Keith's Theatre Building Vol 1, No 1 March 13, 1909 Weekly [*Bulletin of Bibliography*, V (July, 1909), 208]

- 27 *The Theatre Mirror and Theatre Friend* New York 119 E 92nd Street Vol 1, No 1 February, 1909 Weekly In Hebrew [*Bulletin of Bibliography*, V (April, 1909), 178]

1910

- 28 *Burlesque* New York 1547 Broadway Vol 1, No 1 December 17, 1910 Weekly [*Bulletin of Bibliography*, VI (April, 1911), 212]

- 29 *The Foyer* Des Moines, Iowa 224 Second Street Vol 1, No 1 December 1, 1910 Semi-monthly [*Bulletin of Bibliography*, VI (April, 1911), 212]

- 30 *The Players Monthly* New York 1 Madison Avenue Vol 1, No 1 April, 1910 Monthly [Supposedly discontinued with No 8, November, 1910, but I have not been able to locate any of the numbers *Bulletin of Bibliography*, VI (July, 1910), 118, VII (April, 1912), 14]

1911

- 31 *Broadway, Buzz* New York Vol 1, No 1 April, 1911 Monthly [*Bulletin of Bibliography*, VI (October, 1911), 276]

- 32 *The Daily Theatrical Herald* Chicago, Illinois 542 S Dearborn Street Vol 1, No 1 June 1, 1911 Daily [*Bulletin of Bibliography*, VI (July, 1911), 246]
- 33 *In Stock* A Monthly Magazine Devoted to Stock Plays, Managers, Authors and Players Editor Hoi Cooper Megrue New York The American Play Company, Publishers, In Stock, 1451 Broadway Vol 1, No 1 February, 1911 Monthly  
New York Public Library

## 1912

- 34 *The New Drama* Boston, Massachusetts 194 Boylston Street Vol 1, No 1 April, 1912 Biweekly [*Bulletin of Bibliography*, VII (July, 1912), 43, VII (October, 1912), 70]
- 35 *Pantomime* New York World Building Vol 1, No 1 September 15, 1912 Weekly [Could the date be a misprint for 1921? *Bulletin of Bibliography*, XI (September-December, 1921), 108]
- 36 *Stage Pictorial* New York 1493 Broadway Vol 1, No 1 March, 1912 Monthly [*Bulletin of Bibliography*, VII (July, 1912), 43]

## 1913

- 37 *The Curtain Raiser* New York Gaiety Theatre Building Vol 1, No 1 March, 1913 Monthly [*Bulletin of Bibliography*, VII (July, 1913), 142]
- 38 *The Footlight* Atlanta, Georgia Empire Life Building Vol 1, No 1 January 18, 1913 Weekly [*Bulletin of Bibliography*, VII (October, 1913), 163]
- 39 *Stage Quarterly* New York 1493 Broadway Vol 1, No 1 August, 1913 Quarterly [*Bulletin of Bibliography*, VII (October, 1913), 164]

## 1915

- 40 *Actors Bulletin* Official Newsletter of the Actors' International Union New York Vol 1, No 1 November, 1915  
Library of Congress

## 1917

- 41 *Screen and Stage* New York 263 Ninth Avenue Vol 1, No 1 May 26, 1917 Biweekly [*Bulletin of Bibliography*, IX (October, 1917), 199]
- 42 *Where and When* New York 1416 Broadway Vol 1, No 1 January 15, 1917 Weekly [*Bulletin of Bibliography*, IX (April, 1917), 147]

1918

- 43 *Plays and Players Pictorial* New York 19 West 44th Street Vol 1, No 1 June 23, 1918 [*Bulletin of Bibliography*, X (April, May, June, 1919), 112]

1919

- 44 *The Coming Show* New York Vol 1, No 1 November, 1919 Monthly [*Bulletin of Bibliography*, XI (May-August, 1920), 32]

1920

- 45 *Actor's Voice* Los Angeles, California Vol 1, No 1 January, 1920 Monthly [*Bulletin of Bibliography*, XI (May-August, 1920), 32]  
 46 *American Theatre* New York Vol 1, No 1 September, 1920 Monthly [*Bulletin of Bibliography*, XI (January-April, 1921), 69]  
 47 *Drama Brochure* Waterloo, Iowa Vol 1, No 1 April, 1920 Monthly [*Bulletin of Bibliography*, XI (May-August, 1921), 90]  
 48 *Play Mart* New York Vol 1, No 1 January, 1920 Irregular [*Bulletin of Bibliography*, XI (September-December, 1921), 108]

1921

- 49 *Washington Play-goer's Weekly* Washington, D C Vol 1, No 1 December 10, 1921 Weekly [*Bulletin of Bibliography*, XI (May-August, 1922), 148]

1924

- 50 *Footlight and Lamplight* A Weekly Review of Plays and Books Broadcast from Gimbel Brothers, New York WGBS By Oliver M Saylor New York Vol 1, No 1 October 30, 1924 Broadside Harvard University Library  
 51 *Melbourne's Magazine of Plays and Players* New York Published by G Townsend Melbourne, 145 West 45th Street Summer Number, 1924 Quarterly New York Public Library

1925

- 52 *The Professional Stage and Screen Bulletin* New York 424 Thirty-third Street Vol 1, No 1 November, 1925 [*Bulletin of Bibliography*, XII (May-August, 1926), 199]  
 53 *Stage and Foyer* New York 225 West 34th Street Vol 1, No 1 November, 1925 Monthly [*Bulletin of Bibliography*, XII (May-August, 1926), 199]

1928

- 54 *Footlights and Khegs* Chicago 3011 N Nagle Avenue Vol 1, No 1 October, 1928 Monthly [Supposed to have changed to *Footlights*

and *Shadows*, with Vol 2, No 1, December, 1929, but I have been unable to locate the issues *Bulletin of Bibliography*, XIV (January-April, 1931), 87, 88 ]

## 1929

- 55 *Stage Stories* New York 100 Fifth Avenue Vol 1, No 1 February, 1929 Monthly [*Bulletin of Bibliography*, XIII (January-April, 1929), 163 ]

## 1932

- 56 *Broadway Chorus* New York 114 West 26th Street Vol 1, No 1 November 30, 1932 [*Bulletin of Bibliography*, XV (May-August, 1933), 15 ]
- 57 *Mummery* New York 853 Broadway Vol 1, No 1 March, 1932 Monthly [*Bulletin of Bibliography*, XIV (May-August, 1932), 181 ]
- 58 *Slapsack* New York 570 Seventh Avenue Vol 1, No 1 February, 1932 Monthly [*Bulletin of Bibliography*, XIV (January-April, 1932), 161 ]

## 1933

- 59 *Broadway Follies* New York 1472 Broadway Vol 1, No 1 July, 1933 [*Bulletin of Bibliography*, XV (September-December, 1933), 34 ]

## 1935

- 60 *Theatre Events* "Special Issue" [This issue is devoted to National Theatre Week, May 25-June 1, 1935 There is no city of publication, publisher, editor, or date ]  
New York Public Library

## 1937

- 61 *Little Theatre Arts* Editor Charles H Connelley St Louis Little Theatre Arts Publishing Co, 204 Mid-City Building Vol 1, No 1 February, 1937 Monthly, except July-August [*Bulletin of Bibliography*, XVI (May-August, 1937), 55 ]

## 1938

- 62 *The Actor* San Francisco, California 324 Hyde Street Vol 1, No 1 March, 1938 Monthly [*Bulletin of Bibliography*, XVI (May-August, 1939), 182 ]

## 1940

- 63 *American Theatre Magazine* Editor Albert McCleery New York 2 East 46th Street Vol 1, No 1 March, 1940 Monthly  
New York Public Library

- 64 *Dramatic Newsletter* Editors Will MacDonald and Robert Muniz  
New York 600 West 169th Street Vol 1, No 1 November 15,  
1940 Mimeographed  
New York Public Library

- 65 *Prologue* A Journal for Amateur and Community Theatres Edi-  
tors Will MacDonald and Robert W Muniz New York 600  
West 169th Street No 1 December, 1940 Mimeographed [The  
editors say that this issue introduces a new format and a new  
name It was formerly known as the *Dramatic Newsletter* ]  
New York Public Library

1941

- 66 *The Gallery of Stars* Editor William C Lengel The First Issue  
of The Lambs Own Magazine [New York ] Vol 1, No 1 Win-  
ter, 1941/42 Semi-annual  
Library of Congress

1946

- 67 *Footlights* A Stage Magazine Devoted to the Community and Little  
Theatres of America Editor Frederick Barnes Milwaukee, Wis-  
consin American Theatre Association, Inc, Plankinton Building,  
161 N Wisconsin Ave Vol 1, No 1 July, 1946 Monthly  
Columbia University Library, Harvard University Library
- 68 *Notes on the Soviet Theatre* Issued Periodically by the Theatre  
Committee, National Council of American Soviet Friendship  
New York 114 East 32nd Street No 1 February, 1946 Re-  
produced from typing  
New York Public Library

1948

- 69 *Theatre Business Review* A Service Exclusive for T O A Members  
New York 1501 Broadway No 1 February, 1948  
New York Public Library
- 70 *Theatre Quarterly* A Publication Devoted to Community Theatre  
Sponsored by Theatre Workshop, College of the City of New  
York Editor Ira Jacob Bilowit New York Edited and Pub-  
lished by Ira Jacob Bilowit for the City College Workshop Vol 1,  
No 1 November, 1948  
New York Public Library

1951

- 71 *The Prompter* Cambridge, Massachusetts Published by a Commit-  
tee of the Brattle Theatre Association in Co-operation with Mem-

bers of the Brattle Theatre Vol 1, No 1 Spring, January, 1951  
Library of Congress

1954

- 72 *The Actors Magazine* Editor Lyle Kenyon Engel New York  
Published by The Actors Magazine, Inc, East 42nd Street Vol 1,  
No 1 February-March, 1954 Bimonthly  
New York Public Library

1955

- 73 *The Little Theatre Bulletin* Boston Vol 1, No 1 September, 1955  
New York Public Library

1956

- 74 *Curtain Call Magazine* Editor George S McGregor Harlingen,  
Texas Vol 1, No 1 June, 1956 Monthly  
Library of Congress

1958

- 75 *Drama Studies* Editor William Lewin Prepared by Joseph Mer-  
sand, Ph D Summit, New Jersey Copyright by Educational and  
Recreational Guides, Inc, 10 Brainerd Road Vol 1, No 1  
February, 1958  
Library of Congress

1959

- 76 *Americada* Magazine of The American Academy of Dramatic Arts  
Editor William Como New York Published by the American  
Academy of Dramatic Arts, 245 West 52nd Street Vol 1, No 1  
Spring Issue, 1959 Quarterly  
New York Public Library

## NOTES AND QUERIES

### *Cotton Mather Against Rhyme Milton and the* PSALTERIUM AMERICANUM

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COTTON MATHER'S PREFACE to his translation of the Psalms, the *Psalterium Americanum* (Boston, 1718), has been recognized as a notable contribution to American Puritan literary theory, "a very conscious attempt to explore the possibilities of language, as well as to liberate colonial writers from the charge of provincialism"<sup>1</sup> I believe that it has a further, more specific historical significance. The substance of its literary argument is a defense of unrhymed verse—the first of its kind in America—which suggests the earliest instance of Milton's influence on the poetry of the New World.

Mather's defense rests on the premise that rhyme is an unnecessary ornament which tends to impair the content of the poem. The "*Clink* of the *Rhyme*," he writes, adds little or nothing of aesthetic value, and, moreover, actually forces the author to "*leave out* a vast heap of rich things" he might otherwise have expressed (p vii). With regard to the translation of the Psalms in particular, "the Trifle of *Rhyme*" affords no aid "at all unto the Melody of *Singing*" (p vii). In general, the "*likeness of sound* in the last Syllables" acts as a "Fetters" to poetry, what is "essential" is only "the *Number of Syllables*" in the line (p xi). To support his contention, Mather notes that "Some famous pieces of Poetry, which this Refining Age has been treated withal, have been offered us in BLANK VERSE" (p vii). Miller and Johnson imply that Mather is referring to the work of Dryden, Blackmore, Addison, and Pope.<sup>2</sup> Whether or not this is so, Mather would surely have numbered *Paradise Lost* also among the great poetic works of his age, and the terms of his justification of unrhymed verse—which he mistakenly identifies with blank verse<sup>3</sup>—seem unmistakably to echo those of Milton.

<sup>1</sup> Perry Miller and Thomas H. Johnson, *The Puritans* (New York, 1963), II, 668.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Mather's translation takes the form of the septenary couplet, not of the pentameter.



In his note on the verse of his epic, Milton, like Mather, condemns rhyme as an artificial encumbrance. He argues that the "bondage of Riming" is "no necessary Adjunct or true Ornament of Poem or good Verse", rather, it becomes a "hindrance, and constraint" which leads poets to "express many things otherwise, and for the most part worse than else they would have exprest them". Furthermore, the "trivial" contrivance of "the jingling sound of like endings" is "of no true musical delight, which consists only in apt Numbers, fit quantity of Syllables, and the sense variously drawn from one Verse into another". In all its aspects—unnecessary ornament, impoverishment of meaning, obstruction of musical effects—Milton's argument against rhyme and in favor of a syllabic meter is clearly reflected in Mather's Preface, and, by extension, in the poetic form he adopted in his translation.

Mather does not mention Milton in the Preface, or even in his general discussion of poetry in *Manuductio ad Ministerium* (1726), but his admiration for *Paradise Lost* is well known. As George F. Sensabaugh has recently observed:

Cotton Mather appears to have been the first American to leave a clear record of Milton's impress. That this imprint should come from *Paradise Lost* seems somewhat strange—even ironic. For with other Americans of the time his [Mather's] interest lay in Milton's logic and in his controversial tracts. But in his *Magnalia Christi Americana* Mather paraphrased three times not from Milton's prose but from *Paradise Lost*, once in order to enlarge his own exposition and twice to heighten particular scenes.<sup>4</sup>

The Preface to the *Psalterium Americanum* indicates that this "record of Milton's impress" extends beyond Mather's church history to his most ambitious poetic effort—one which he had perhaps already begun to consider in the last decade of the seventeenth century, when, in the *Magnalia* itself, he declared his dissatisfaction with the renderings of the *Bay Psalm Book*.<sup>5</sup> If so, the ironic situation of

line. It is worth remarking in this connection that Milton's note on the verse of his epic attacks the use of rhyme without advocating any definite meter. References to Milton's note are to *John Milton, Complete Poems and Major Prose*, ed. Merritt Y. Hughes (New York, 1957), p. 210.

<sup>4</sup> *Milton in Early America* (Princeton, 1964), p. 38.

<sup>5</sup> *Magnalia Christi Americana*, ed. Thomas Robbins (Hartford, 1853), I, 407. The usual view, of course, is that Milton had no influence upon New England verse "till well into the eighteenth century" (Austin Warren, *New England Saints*, Ann Arbor, Mich., 1956, p. 6).

which Mr Sensabaugh speaks becomes still more striking, though from another perspective. It is in Mather's *Psalterium Americanum*, surely among the duller of biblical verse translations—inferior even to the awkward version it was meant to supplant—that Milton's direct impact on American poetic theory and practice really begins.

### *Edward Taylor's Meditation One*

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SUBSEQUENT TO THE PUBLICATION of Thomas H. Johnson's selected edition (1939) and Donald E. Stanford's complete edition (1960), Edward Taylor's *Preparatory Meditations* has been generally recognized as a major contribution to seventeenth-century American Puritan belles-lettres. The appearance of Norman Grabo's 1962 edition of the *Christographia*—the fourteen sermons related to Meditations 42-54 and 56, Second Series—has demonstrated that an appreciation of Taylor's poetry is dependent upon an understanding of his theology and, consequently, that a revision of some earlier critical conclusions concerning Taylor's verse is in order. The present article is concerned primarily with Meditation One, First Series, the three-stanza poem which functions as a theological prologue to the *Preparatory Meditations*, and which, properly read, contributes to a better understanding of Taylor's art.<sup>1</sup>

The first Meditation contains little of that seemingly incongruous imagery which once led Taylor to exclaim,

But plung'd I am, my minde is puzzled,  
When I would spin my Phancy thus unspun,  
In finest Twine of Praise I'm muzzled  
My tazzled Thoughts twirld into Snick-Snarls run

(*Poems*, p. 51)

<sup>1</sup> Thomas H. Johnson, ed., *The Poetical Works of Edward Taylor* (Princeton, 1939), citations from Taylor's poetry in my text are to Donald E. Stanford, ed., *The Poems of Edward Taylor* (New Haven, 1960), citations from the sermons are to Norman S. Grabo, ed., *Edward Taylor's Christographia* (New Haven, 1962), hereafter designated respectively as *Poems* and *Christ*.

Nor is Meditation One adequately described by the "Colonial Baroque" classification which Austin Warren more than a decade ago engraved indelibly upon the poet's work.<sup>2</sup> The poem is, for Taylor, rather carefully structured and seems at first sight deceptively simple. Roy Harvey Pearce, writing before the publication of the *Christographia*, explained it in these terms: "God's love is set forth first logically as that which conjoins finity and infinity, then figuratively as that which overflows heaven and fills the veins of men, and again figuratively as a fire which overflows the heart and enflames the soul."<sup>3</sup> The explication is an accurate restatement of the literal sense of the poem, but it does not recover Taylor's meaning for twentieth-century readers, nor does it lead to a satisfactory estimate of his poetry. In his conclusion, Mr. Pearce seems to censure Taylor—who wrote the meditations as a private spiritual act preparatory to administering and receiving the sacrament—for not having given proper consideration to the requirements of "a reader": "the complexities of a reader's experience appear to have come to little as a problem in Taylor's composing. He seems to have written what he knew with as much eloquence as possible, but he seems equally to have been confident that that eloquence lay immanent in what he knew, not in the telling of it. Reading Taylor's poetry, we read his Puritanism."<sup>4</sup> Puritan theology, let us concede, presents an inviting prospect to few modern readers, but at the same time, in order to understand Taylor's poetry, we must take into account "what he knew," and that inevitably involves his theology.

The New England Congregational Church generally during the seventeenth century agreed that man had forfeited forever the first covenant between God and man—the Covenant of Works—in the fall of Adam and Eve.<sup>5</sup> God, through his infinite mercy, had made a second covenant—the Covenant of Grace—wherein the Chosen of God were granted eternal salvation through the mediation of Christ. For Taylor, who at his ordination had accepted the Cal-

<sup>2</sup> Austin Warren, "Edward Taylor's Poetry: Colonial Baroque," *Kenyon Review*, III, 355-371 (Summer, 1941), reprinted in Warren, *Rage for Order* (Chicago, 1948), pp. 118.

<sup>3</sup> Roy Harvey Pearce, "The Poet as Puritan," in *Critical Approaches to American Literature*, ed. Ray B. Browne and Martin Light (New York, 1965), I, 15, reprinted from *New England Quarterly*, XXIII, 31-46 (March, 1950).

<sup>4</sup> Pearce, p. 25.

<sup>5</sup> See Stanford, pp. xlix-liv, Grabo, pp. xiii-xvii, and Perry Miller, *The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1954), pp. 365-397.

vinistic Westminster Confession, participation in the Lord's Supper was not a means to attaining Grace, but rather, as he phrased it, a "means instituted of God whereby the benefits of Redemption by outward signs represented are sealingly applied unto believers" <sup>76</sup>  
In Meditation 104, Second Series, he again explained,

This Bread and Wine begets not Souls, but's set  
Fore spirituall life to feed upon the Same  
This Feast is no Regenerating fare  
But food for those Regenerate that are (*Poems*, p 271)

The *Meditations* are in theory, then, utterances of one who believed himself to be among the Elect of God

## I

In Meditation One, Taylor's purpose was to define the intimate relationship between God, Christ, and the Elect. He does this in the three stanzas of the poem, first, by suggesting the origin of Christ in God's love, second, by praising Christ as Mediator, and third, by defining the spiritual circumstances of the communicant, speaking as a suppliant for Christ's love. In the first stanza, the poet suggests paradoxically the nature of divine love, a love which cannot be confined within a realm which has no confines—infinity—unless infinity and finity are united in the Person of God

What Love is this of thine, that Cannot bee  
In thine Infinity, O Lord, Confinde,  
Unless it in thy very Person see,  
Infinity, and Finitie Conjoyn'd?  
What hath thy Godhead, as not satisfide  
Marri'de our Manhood, making it its Bride? (*Poems*, p 5)

Taylor's conception of the sense in which Christ represents such a union of finite and infinite is explained in the first sermon of the *Christographia*. The terms *Father*, *Son*, and *Spirit* do not designate three separate deities, rather, "they are but one God . . . the Relations of the Godhead as Personated among themselves" (*Christ*, p 51). Christ "was Godhead alone, and without manhood from all Eternity untill his Conception in the Womb of the Virgin Mary. But from his Incarnation . . . unto all Eternity he is both God,

<sup>76</sup> Taylor, Westfield "Church Record" (unpublished ms), quoted in Stanford, p 540

and Man in personall Union" (*Christ*, p 47) It would appear, then, that God, who is infinite goodness, has chosen to unite with utter vileness, man This union, as Taylor observed, seems a "difficult knot to unty," until it is recognized that there is a difference between the human nature of Christ and that of man "Fallen Nature is not Sinfull Nature before it is Rationall nature" (*Christ*, pp 12-13) In Christ, God joins with the Human Nature of man, but not with his sinfulness, "For the Nature of the Godhead cannot admitt Sinful Manhood into Personall Union unto it" (*Christ*, p 12)

Taylor's final expression of this joining together, that Godhead "Marri'de our Manhood, making it its Bride," had a special significance The poet needed to express such a union "as neither Changes, nor Compounds, nor Divides, nor admits any Separation of the Natures United" (*Christ*, p 16) "Marri'de" was the word most appropriate to convey the nature of God-man Christ and to express Taylor's conception of the atonement "because the Offence against Gods Law, was committed by our nature, the Satisfaction, and the Reparation to be made was to be made by our Nature" (*Christ*, p 11) In such a union, Christ could effect the atonement for man's sins and retain his qualities of Godhead while united with manhood

## II

In the second stanza, Taylor moves logically to the theme of Christ as Mediator between God and fallen man

Oh, Matchless Love! filling Heaven to the brim!  
 O're running it all running o're beside  
 This World! Nay Overflowing Hell, wherein  
 For thine Elect, there rose a mighty Tide!  
 That there our Veans might through thy Person bleed,  
 To quench those flames, that else would on us feed

(*Poems*, p 5)

Wallace Cable Brown, attempting to give, like Mr Pearce, a literal rendering of the stanza, concludes in seeming exasperation "this love is pictured, in a series of farflung images, as filling heaven, the earth, and even 'Overflowing Hell'""<sup>7</sup> The images are pre-

<sup>7</sup> Wallace C Brown, "Edward Taylor An American 'Metaphysical,'" *American Literature*, XVI, 194 (Nov, 1944)

cisely those intended by Tavlör Even as God's love could not be "Confinde" in its infinity until united in Christ with the finite nature of man, so Christ is "full of Favour towards poor lost mankinde He is so full that he runs over with grace to them Yea towards his Enemies" (*Christ*, p 246) The vision of God's love "Overflowing Hell, wherein / For thine Elect, there rose a mighty Tide!" was a purposeful choice For Taylor, Christ literally "had all the Divells in Hell, and Powers of Darkness to Conquour He had all the Wrath of God due on the account of all the Sins of the Elect in all the World to grapple With" (*Christ*, p 213) Christ as the Redeemer had to contend with the "enemies to God in a State of Sin, under the powers, and Dominion of Hell, Satan, and Sin" (*Christ*, p 221)

An important article in Taylor's faith was that only Christ could serve as mediator between justly wrathful God and depraved man There was no hope alone for those of the race that had wilfully flouted the first covenant "For God being abused, and Dishonour'd by Sinfull Man, Sinfull Man is like to Sustain the Eternall Vengeance of an Offended God, unless Someone be found to take up the quarrell, and to mediate on mans account with God" (*Christ*, p 55) As Taylor states unequivocally in his sermon on the "Mediatory Authority" of Christ "there is none access unto God to be made by fallen man without a Mediator" (*Christ*, p 420) Thus, Mr Pearce's literal rendering of the second stanza—that God's love "fills the veins of men"—is perhaps more accurately explained in the following sense that God's love flows through the human veins of God-man Christ, who, in his mediatory capacity makes possible the salvation of the Elect Of those not among the Elect, the "reprobate Sinners," the "Divells, and Fallen Angells," Taylor concludes, "They have no Mediator in a proper sense But as an Eaves dropper gets the knowledge of what is said in the house So do these get some light into Divine Mysteries as Christ dispenseth them to the Church" (*Christ*, p 369) Such light is, of course, "nonsanctifying knowledge"

### III

In the final stanza, the poet—having addressed the infinite love of God represented in the "Glory of all Creation," Christ—turns at

last to the finite, his own heart The tone of the poem here changes from exultant praise to personal despair, as Taylor recognizes that he conceives what he may not possess, that he lacks assurance of the very object glorified in his poem, the Grace of God

Oh! that thy Love might overflow my Heart!  
 To fire the same with Love for Love I would  
 But oh! my streight'ned Breast! my Lifeless Sparkle!  
 My Fireless Flame! What Chilly Love, and Cold?  
 In measure small! In Manner Chilly! See  
 Lord blow the Coal Thy Love Enflame in mee (*Poems*, p 5)

The spiritual dilemma that Taylor is at task to express is simply this, that man, God's creation, has the desire, but not the power, to enkindle within himself divine grace Nothing creates out of itself but God Thus the lament, "for Love I would," trailing off into hopeless silence In that moment of doubt Taylor conveys the frustration inherent in Calvinism, he can implore Christ to light his "Fireless Flame," but he has no recourse beyond that In his sermon on "The Qualifications—Priestly Authority," he treats the same theme

Such is the Sinners State, and Condition, that he must be relieved, or else he is Sure to goe down unto Eternall darkness, and Sustain the Eternall vengeance of a Wrathfull Almighty God unavoidably For he Cannot deliver himselfe neither can the Whole Creation of God give him an helping hand, that can free him (*Christ*, p 347)

It may be said that Meditation One and the *Preparatory Meditations* collectively are an acknowledgment of man's spiritual inadequacy and his utter dependence upon the Grace of God

While we can explain facilely the theological *raison d'être* of Taylor's *Meditations*, it is more difficult for the modern reader to comprehend fully the intensity of the Puritan's excitement in his faith Meditation One is, for Taylor, an exercise in poetic restraint The wonderment which lies behind the opening question,

What Love is this of thine, that Cannot bee  
 In thine Infinity, O Lord, Confinde,

is more clearly evidenced in the first sermon of the *Christographia*, where Taylor, in contemplating the miraculous union of God and man in Christ, exclaims, "Its the Glory of all the Creation it is to

the astonishment of Reason, its for the Exaltment of Man it's the utter Confounding of Divells It is the Wonderment of Saints, the Amaizement of Angells and the overseting Astonishment of all things" (*Christ*, pp 29-30) In another sermon, Taylor sets forth the object toward which the whole of Meditation One is directed, the assurance of Grace, in terms so explicit that we cannot fail to grasp his meaning "I say that Grace is the most Absolutely perfect accomplishment of Humane nature that is, Ennobling of it with the highest Excellency, of a God-assimulating property which is, most divinely Dignifying it, for Divine Service here, and for Divine Society in Glory forever" (*Christ*, p 236) This transcendent faith is the origin of the vigorous spirit which pervades the *Meditations*

In a recent article, Donald Junkins has shown that Taylor "was an artist and that he had a procedure that he wrote, re-wrote, revised, crossed out, and incorporated and that his process was artistically sound"<sup>8</sup> Carrying that conclusion one step further, it may be said that if we are to appreciate fully Taylor's artistry in the *Preparatory Meditations*, we must re-create as well as we are able the intensity and the significance of the theology which inspired those meditations Understanding the Westfield pastor's sense of the oneness of the Trinity, the origin of Christ in God's love, and the nature of Redemption and Grace is inseparable from understanding Taylor's achievement as a poet

### *Charles Brockden Brown's Law Study: Some New Documents*

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THERE IS LITTLE BIOGRAPHICAL EVIDENCE about Charles Brockden Brown's career as a law student We know that he left Robert Proud's Friends' Latin School in 1786 or 1787 and entered the Philadelphia law office of Alexander Wilcocks to prepare for a pro-

<sup>8</sup> Donald Junkins, 'Edward Taylor's Revisions,' *American Literature*, XXXVII, 152 (May, 1965)



fession<sup>1</sup> He never completed his studies, however, and gave up the clerkship with Wilcocks sometime between January, 1792, and August, 1793<sup>2</sup>

## I

Two recently discovered documents provide important new evidence about this period in Brown's life The first is a page from Charles Brockden Brown's diary dated June 13, 1788 Originally written on a loose piece of paper, the diary page was lost by Charles and subsequently found by his father, Elijah Brown, Sr, who copied it verbatim into a commonplace book of the Brown family, designating it as "A part of my Son C B Browns [*sic*] Diary" Now owned by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the commonplace book has heretofore been mislabeled, a fact which perhaps explains why the existence of the diary entry has gone unnoticed<sup>3</sup> The diary page indicates that the eighteen-year-old law student was more interested in poetry than in his law studies, and it includes his earliest surviving literary effort a poem in praise of Philadelphia's Schuylkill River A transcription of the entry follows

A part of my Son C B Browns Diary—

6 mo 13 1788 10 OClk A M 6th day at Wilcocks<sup>4</sup>

A Wilcocks went out of Town to Bucks Court on third day last and expect him back perhaps to night but more probably tomorrow night—It is a very gloomy day and even cold for the season—It has for some weeks past been dry and pleasant—

<sup>1</sup> William Dunlap, *The Life of Charles Brockden Brown* (Philadelphia, 1815), I, 14, Harry Warfel, *Charles Brockden Brown American Gothic Novelist* (Gainesville, Fla., 1949), pp 24 25, David Lee Clark, *Charles Brockden Brown Pioneer Voice of America* (Durham, N C, 1952), p 22

<sup>2</sup> Warfel, p 36, Clark, p 37

<sup>3</sup> The commonplace book is one of the twenty nine of the Brown family in the manuscript collection of the society Its catalog number is Am 03399 No 5, and it is labeled Stephen Crisp's Epistle to Friends, 1606 2 pp entitled 'A part of my son E C [*sic*] Brown's Diary 6/13/1788, copied from a loose strip of paper in his own hand and accidentally found' Comparison with the actual diary entry shows that this label is in error as to the initials at the top of the page, for "C B Brown" is clearly legible, also, Elijah Brown took three pages, not two, to copy his son's single page The description in the label of the commonplace book—"copied from a loose strip of paper in his own hand and accidentally found"—corresponds to Elijah Brown's vertical note in the left hand margin of the first entry page A photostatic copy of this entry is available in my Ph D dissertation (unpublished), 'The Novels of Charles Brockden Brown A Critical Study,' Kent State University, 1966 I wish to thank the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and its executive director, Mr Henry Cadwalader, for permission to publish this material

<sup>4</sup> Brown uses the Quaker designation of "sixth day" and "sixth month" to indicate Saturday, June 13, 1788

I went home on seventh day last—my father had gone to Wilmington that morning, and therefore I found my company very acceptable—the next day was wet but brother Armit<sup>5</sup> came down in the morning [illegible] Elijah<sup>6</sup> gave me a 20d piece which he had gotten that morning for cherries which he laid claim to upon the merit of having picked them—I have bought the Death of Abel<sup>7</sup> with it for him though I now repent having done so as my Mother may think it thrown away—however it is now done—And I shall take it down with me, if I go to-morrow or next day, we came up together in the Evening, tho' very raw and cold, but I think I have felt no disadvantage from it

I took the resolution next day of writing a poetical Epistle to my bro<sup>r</sup> James, and by way of an Enchyridien Armit procured me the Second Vol of Johnsons Pope<sup>8</sup> which contains his Satires and imitations of Horace—I strove to catch some of his spirit, and the success that attended my Endeavours has at the same time pleased me and discouraged me, the facility with which I wrote has revived the former good opinion I entertained of my own talents, but my ambition looks higher than the Musa Pedistris of such poetry—But when I reflect upon my haste in other Instances, and the several serious and pathetic strokes which I have indulged in this piece which I thought to render sacred to humour only, has encouraged me a little to think of something more elevated Wilcocks being out of Town, I have been at liberty to indulge myself in those studies—and I have written at least one hundred lines a day for these two or three days past—As I shall not insert those parts that bear a serious complexion in this letter at least I will put what I can recollect here that it may not be entirely lost as they are in danger, if on loose pieces of paper—

I[N] PRAISE OF SCHUYLKILL

Each muse her Incense to thy banks shall bring  
To these the genius of my natal spring  
For thee each heavenly stranger leave her skies  
And new Sabrinas<sup>9</sup> from thy bosom rise  
No precious sands thy torrent floods withhold  
To thee belong no mountains ribb'd with gold

<sup>5</sup> Charles Brockden Brown's brother, Armit Brown

<sup>6</sup> Charles Brockden Brown's brother, Elijah Brown, Jr

<sup>7</sup> By the German poet, Salomon Gessner At least two translations of *Der Tod Abels* had been published in America prior to this time

<sup>8</sup> This is a reference to *The Works of the English Poets* for which Johnson wrote his famous *Lives of the English Poets* The collection, first published in sixty eight volumes in London, 1779-1781, was often referred to as *Johnson's Works of the English Poets*

<sup>9</sup> Sabrina is the river nymph who aids distressed maidens Cf Milton, *Comus*, ll 824-868, and Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, II x 19

No sulphurous flames obscure the ray serene  
 No fierce tornado's blast thy smiling scene  
 No [left blank] desolate thy shore  
 No Arian [?] storms within thy caverns roar  
 Whenever thy Daughters make their cool retreat  
 The humid Grotto and the mossy seat

## II

The second document related to Brown's law study is a previously unpublished letter written by him to a brother, James Brown, dated April 14, 1795. Now on deposit in the University of Virginia Library as part of the manuscript collection of the Clifton Waller Barrett Library,<sup>10</sup> the letter is important because of Charles Brockden Brown's comments on his intentions for entering the bar. All biographers have assumed that his decision in 1792-1793 to quit the law was final and unequivocal. His most recent biographer claims that Brown "detested the profession" and left Wilcocks's office "determined not to be a lawyer."<sup>11</sup>

Brown may or may not have "detested" the practice of law—and it is interesting to note that his friend and first biographer, William Dunlap, claimed that he did not<sup>12</sup>—but his departure from Wilcocks's office evidently did not mean that he had finally determined not to become an attorney. Charles may be only placating his brother to avoid family conflict, since his original decision to quit Wilcocks had met with vehement family objections, but his letter does commit him to the taking of the next bar exam. Since there is no record of his application for admission to the bar,<sup>13</sup> apparently he did not keep his word, but if his promise to James was made in good faith, the letter reveals that as late as April, 1795, he was still considering a career as a lawyer. Had it not been for the untimely death of his friend, the lawyer William Wood Wilkins, Brown

<sup>10</sup> I wish to thank the Library of the University of Virginia, its Acting Curator of Manuscripts, Anne Freudenberg, and Mr. Clifton Waller Barrett for permission to publish this letter.

<sup>11</sup> Clark, p. 37.

<sup>12</sup> Dunlap, I, 41-43.

<sup>13</sup> None of the Philadelphia bar records indicate that Brown took the examination. John Hill Martin's *Bench and Bar of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1883) includes a list of all lawyers admitted to practice in Philadelphia from 1682-1883, but Brown's name does not appear.

might have become a Philadelphia lawyer instead of America's first important novelist<sup>14</sup> A transcription of the letter follows

MR JAMES BROWN, MERCHT EDENTON, N CAROLINA

DEAR BROTHER,

Our brother Joseph is just leaving us Had I anything to occupy a sheet, a sheet should be employed, but there are no topics of conversation between us, which will not be much better discussed by word of mouth, between my two brothers What of importance has occurred since your departure? An event of very great moment and the least expected that could almost possibly occur, has indeed been witnessed by us It has been of particular importance to me Wilkins' life was, indeed, the pledge of my success in the legal profession It was necessary also to my qualification as an attorney The knowledge that was necessary, most necessary, practical skill, the result of experience, was only derivable from him It is his death that hath prevented me from fulfilling your expectations, and obliged me to defer my admission till the succeeding term

Of my health of body or of mind, it is in my power to say very little in favor, but all, sooner or later, will, I trust, be well, both to you and me If fortunes smile not deceitfully I suppose your present adventure will, in a great measure, ascertain your future prosperity I am much inclined to moralize, but I am afraid to attempt it It would appear rather awkward coming from my lips My practise is, indeed, not much to be commended, and yet, though that be a miserable kind of consolation, if thoroughly known, I believe I should be an object of compassion and forgiveness, rather than of anger or resentment<sup>15</sup>

You are speedily to supply the place of our brother Joseph in this family This inspires all with the most agreeable expectations In spite of some inconveniences, I cannot but think that your abode will be much more agreeable than it could possibly be at Edenton I am indeed an utter stranger to the localities of Edenton, except by second hand, and yet have imbibed most formidable prejudices against it

I am still inclined to moralize, but should, I fear, be seduced into reflections of too sable a complexion for the occasion I will therefore

<sup>14</sup> Brown's friend, William Wood Wilkins, was a practicing lawyer in Philadelphia, he died February 15, 1795 Apparently Brown had been planning on working with him (see the first paragraph of the letter)

<sup>15</sup> Brown may be referring here to family pressures to choose a profession

conclude my hasty epistle with sincere wishes for your health and prosperity, and for your speedy return to this city And am, dear brother, in spite of a disease, called by some nosographers, the *dumps*,

Philada April 14, 1795

Affectionately yours,  
C B BROWN

*An Unpublished Poem by Washington Irving*

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THERE ARE FEW EXISTING EXAMPLES of Irving's verse *The Poems of Washington Irving Brought together from various sources by William R Langfield* (New York, 1931) prints fourteen of them John Howard Birss adds a single poem,<sup>1</sup> and Francis Scott Smith removes one from the canon, then offers a variant of another<sup>2</sup> To these may be added a manuscript poem in the C Waller Barrett Collection at the University of Virginia's Alderman Library, an autograph poem—in Spanish<sup>3</sup>

Smith discusses the 24-line "Thou record of the votive Throng" as an example of Irving's "frequent fits of dejection and loneliness during his years in Europe"<sup>4</sup> The following effort also displays such a mood

¡Ay Dios de mi alma!  
Saqueisme de aquí,  
¡Ay! que Inglaterra  
Ya no es para mí  
¡Ay Dios de alta parte  
La mejor del suelo,

<sup>1</sup> "New Verses by Washington Irving," *American Literature* IV, 296 (Nov, 1932)

<sup>2</sup> "Washington Irving, the Fosters, and Some Poetry," *American Literature* IX, 228-232 (May, 1937)

<sup>3</sup> Untitled, the poem is written on wove paper measuring 164 by 221 mm, three stanzas (twenty lines) on recto, the remaining two stanzas (sixteen lines) on verso, followed by a signature and date "Washington Irving / London Sept 9th 1830"

<sup>4</sup> Smith, p 232, and Henry A Pochmann describes Irving as enough the "man of sentiment to have many moments of melancholy and depression" (*Washington Irving Representative Selections*, New York, 1934, p xxv)

Con quien se reparte  
Gran parte del cielo!  
Mira el desconsuelo,  
Que yo paso aquí,  
¡Ay! que Inglaterra  
Ya no es para mí

¡Ay Dios! que pecados  
He yo cometido,  
Que tan bien pagados  
Y tan presto han sido,  
Mas he merecido,  
Pues que me partí  
¡Ay! que Inglaterra  
Ya no es para mí

¡Ay, ay! que mi mal  
Con mil males viene,  
Es pena infernal  
Que ningun fin tiene  
Morir me conviene,  
Pues grosero fui  
¡Ay! que Inglaterra  
Ya no es para mí

Que el seso no pierda  
Ningun hombre habrá,  
Del bien que se acuerda  
Y el mal en que está,  
¡Ay Dios! baste ya  
Saqueisme de aquí,  
¡Ay! que Inglaterra  
Ya no es para mí

Several aspects of the poem—the unusual present subjunctive in the word “Saqueisme,” the inconsistent use of diacritical marks, and the unnecessary inversion of “He yo cometido” for the more usual “Yo he cometido”—demonstrate that the author is probably not native-born Spanish. Not that Irving lacked facility in the language “his formal lessons in Spanish did not begin until Dec 10, 1824, but he progressed so well that on Jan 15, 1825, he could record in his diary that he was reading Spanish ‘satisfacto-

rily'" And "the lessons continued for some time longer"<sup>5</sup> It is surprising that Irving should attempt belles-lettres in a foreign tongue, even one in which he had conversational facility, yet this poem is not his only venture at least two of his short stories written in Spanish are extant<sup>6</sup> Perhaps a contrast between the Spain he remembered fondly and the London where he wrote the poem triggered a return to his recently polished Spanish

A prose translation of the poem reads

Oh, God of my soul! Take me out of here Oh, England is no longer for me

Oh God of the higher region, the best of the earth, with whom a great part of heaven is shared, look at the grief which I endure here Oh, England is no longer for me

Oh, God! What sins I have committed which have been paid for so quickly and so well But I deserved it Therefore I left Oh, England is no longer for me

Oh, oh! That my affliction comes with a thousand torments It is an infernal pain which has no end Death is convenient to me, because I was foul Oh, England is no longer for me

There is probably no man who does not lose his mind who remembers goodness and [yet] exists in evil Oh God! Enough! Take me out of here Oh, England is no longer for me<sup>7</sup>

Heavy-handed and emotional, the poem at first glance seems almost mock-anguish But Irving—swamped by his work as Secretary of the Legation to the Court of St James's and caught up in London social life—is apparently sincere in this piece Letters written in late 1830 attest to his state of mind

Even six months earlier, he had written to Juan Wetherell in Spain and mentioned "the thousand distractions which beset me this London life harasses my very soul out How often I look back with regret to the tranquil life of literary leisure [*sic*] that I passed in Andalusia, under such serene skies, and in the enjoyment of such a delicious climate!"<sup>8</sup> The contrast between his

<sup>5</sup> Pochmann, p. lxxviii, n. 153

<sup>6</sup> In manuscript at Yale, according to H. L. Kleinfield, 'A Census of Washington Irving Manuscripts,' *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, LXVIII, 21 (Jan., 1964), Kleinfield also gives the only published mention of "¡Ay Dios de mi alma!" that I have seen, though of course he does not print it (p. 27)

<sup>7</sup> I am indebted to Mr. J. L. Johnson of the University of Virginia's Modern Language Department for this translation

<sup>8</sup> MS letter in the Barrett Collection

Spanish happiness and London discontent may even have led Irving to write in that foreign tongue

But simply to account for Irving's choice of language or to call "¡Ay Dios de mi alma!" "sincere" does not prove the poem's merit. It is principally of biographical interest, pertinent as well to studies of Irving's grasp of and fondness for things Hispanic, yet does distinguish him in an intriguing way: few American poets can claim to have written nearly 7 per cent of their verse in Spanish.

*Annie and Huck A Note on*  
THE ADVENTURES OF HUCKLEBERRY FINN

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THE GENESIS OF *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* has received considerable attention. Evidences of Mark Twain's use of the vernacular first-person narrator, of his interest in childhood, and of experiments in using either for the purposes of social and moral criticism are cited as preparatory for the writing of the novel. While *Huckleberry Finn* represents the first sustained effort at combining the three elements, the following hitherto neglected document indicates that the combination is not wholly without precedent in the author's own writings. It also indicates that as early as 1866 Mark Twain was fully aware of the efficacy of the combination in realizing intentions that were to dominate the majority of the chapters in the novel.

On March 24, 1866, the San Francisco *Californian* carried an occasional piece by Mark Twain entitled "A Complaint about Correspondents."<sup>1</sup> The western paper acknowledged it to be a reprint from the New York *Weekly Review*, where it probably first appeared some months previously.<sup>2</sup> The date of composition, then,

<sup>1</sup> "A Complaint about Correspondents" has recently been reprinted in *The Complete Humorous Sketches and Tales of Mark Twain*, ed. Charles Neider (Garden City, N.Y., 1961), pp. 71-74, and in *Mark Twain's San Francisco*, ed. Bernard Taper (New York, Toronto, London, 1963), pp. 237-243. My quotations follow the text in the *Californian* of March 24, 1866, p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> See Edgar M. Branch, 'A Chronological Bibliography of the Writings of Samuel Clemens to June 8, 1867,' *American Literature*, XVIII, 143-144 (May, 1946).



would seem to be either the end of 1865 or the beginning of 1866. In this piece Mark Twain addresses himself to the Eastern reader—meaning, significantly, all those living east of the Rocky Mountains—with a complaint about the lack of interesting information in the correspondence received from them. In support of his charge he quotes from a letter purported to have been received in 1862 from his “Aunt Nancy” of St. Louis. The letter, according to Mark Twain, violates the “one brief, solitary law for letter-writing,” namely to “write only about things and people your correspondent takes a living interest in.” It tells about persons of whom Mark Twain had never before heard, and it brings the war news, “in minute and dry detail,” weeks after he has received the same intelligence by means of overland telegraph or pony express. Also included is the following exhortation: “Oh, Mark, why *don’t* you try to lead a better life? Read II Kings, from chap. 2 to chap. 24 inclusive. It would be so gratifying to me if you would experience a change of heart”—Mark Twain’s comment being that the suggestion to read twenty-two chapters of Second Kings “is a nice shell to fall in the camp of a man who is not studying for the ministry.” Since this letter was “just of a pattern with all that went before it, it was not answered, and one useless correspondence ceased.” The contents and the wording of the reprinted portion of the letter, together with the fact that Aunt Nancy of St. Louis cannot be identified and that in 1862 the author is addressed as “Dear Mark,” seem to suggest that the epistle was composed by Mark Twain himself to suit his moralistic purposes. A more realistic account is provided in his subsequent discussion of the letters generally received from his mother, whom he finds to be “a tolerably good correspondent.” Her weaknesses are that she “wades into a pile of newspapers and slashes out column after column” of St. Louis news to be sent along with her personal messages, and that she consistently uses initials instead of full names, leaving her son to mourn “the death of Bill Kribben when I should have rejoiced over the dissolution of Ben Kenfuron.”

The communications received from the two adult correspondents are then put in juxtaposition with the following letter from a child, purported to have been written by “a small girl eight years of age”

ST LOUIS, 1865

Uncle Mark, if you was here I could tell you about Moses in the Bul-rushers again I know it better, now Mr Sowerby has got his leg broke off a horse He was riding it on Sunday Margaret, that's the maid, Margaret has took all the spittoons, and slop-buckets, and old jugs out of your room, because she says she don't think you're ever coming back any more, you been gone so long Sissy McElroy's mother has got another little baby She has them all the time It has got little blue eyes, like Mr Swimley that boards there, and looks just like him I have got a new doll, but Johnny Anderson pulled one of its legs out Miss Doosenberry was here to day, I give her your picture, but she said she didn't want it My cat has got more kittens, O, you can't think—twice as many as Lottie Belden's And there's one such a sweet little buff one with a short tail, and I named it for you All of them's got names, now—General Grant, and Halleck, and Moses, and Margaret, and Deuteronomy, and Captain Semmes, and Exodus, and Leviticus, and Horace Greeley—all named but one, and I am saving it because the one that I named for You's been sick all the time since, and I reckon it'll die [It appears to have been mighty rough on the short-tailed kitten, naming it for me—I wonder how the reserved victim will stand it] Uncle Mark, I do believe Hattie Caldwell likes you, and I know she thinks you are pretty, because I heard her say nothing couldn't hurt your good looks—nothing at all—she said even if you was to have the small-pox ever so bad you would be just as good-looking as you was before And my ma says she's ever so smart [Very] So no more this time, because General Grant and Moses is fighting

ANNIE

The epistle may have been written by Annie Moffett, daughter of Mark Twain's sister Pamela, who had married William A. Moffett in 1851 and then settled in St. Louis. Samuel Charles Webster, her son, actually identifies Annie Moffett as the writer, adding, "My mother thinks [Uncle Sam] doctored it a little, but Aunt Mollie [Orion Clemens's wife] told her she really did write him some such letter."<sup>8</sup> But despite such evidence and despite the pains Mark Twain seems to have taken to make the letter appear real, one may safely assume that it is largely—if not wholly—fictive, a counter-part to the fictive Aunt Nancy's letter quoted earlier in the same piece. Quite apart from the contents and the style of the letter,

<sup>8</sup> *Mark Twain Business Man* (Boston, 1946), p. 85

Mark Twain's authorship is also suggested by the fact that the dates provided by the author do not comport with those of Annie's biography. Born in 1852, Annie would have been twelve or thirteen in 1865, not at all the small girl whose age—"seven or eight years," as Mark Twain's subsequent commentary shows—accounts for the singular qualities of her epistle. If, on the other hand, we assume that the author, changing both date and salutation, used a letter from Annie actually written when she was eight years old, the original date of such a letter would reveal similar incompatibilities between contents and historical fact. Why, then, in presenting an obviously fictive letter, should its author choose to make its writer eight years of age? Why, in fact, should he insist that such letters are only written by "children seven or eight years old"? And why, finally, should he assign his own composition to an actual person, his niece? A possible answer is provided in a letter of April 2, 1862, from Mark Twain to his mother. Referring to previous correspondence between himself and his family in St. Louis the author finds that he is "in for it again—with Annie," apparently for having either misunderstood or deliberately misread a letter she had sent him. Facetiously, Mark Twain explains why this should have happened

she ought to know that I was always stupid. She used to try to teach me lessons from the Bible, but I never could understand them. Doesn't she remember telling me the story of Moses, one Sunday, last Spring, and how hard she tried to explain it and simplify it so that I could understand it—but I *couldn't*? And how she said it was strange that while her ma and her grandma and her uncle Orion could understand anything in the world, I was so dull that I couldn't understand the "easiest thing?" And doesn't she remember that finally a light broke in upon me and I said it was all right—that I knew old Moses himself—and that he kept a clothing store in Market Street? And then she went to her ma and said she didn't know what would become of her uncle Sam—he was too dull to learn anything—ever! And I'm just as dull yet.<sup>4</sup>

This passage indicates that it was indeed Annie who inspired Mark Twain's later composition. It also explains why he should have chosen her as the ostensible author and, most importantly, why he

<sup>4</sup> *Mark Twain's Letters*, ed. Albert Bigelow Paine (New York and London, 1917), I, 69.

should have made her "eight years of age," for in the spring of 1861, when Annie actually told her uncle the story of Moses, she was eight, possibly just nine years old. Mollie Clemens, maintaining later that Annie "really did write him some such letter," may have thought of the correspondence and the incidents referred to in the letter of April 2, 1862, for regardless of the inspiration that Annie Moffett may have provided for it, Annie's letter in "A Complaint about Correspondents" must be considered a literary creation of Mark Twain's.

To reveal its full meaning as a literary creation the letter must be seen primarily in the context for which it was obviously devised. "A Complaint about Correspondents" establishes two sets of contrasts which help to define the function of Annie's letter: a contrast between East and West, and a contrast between the author's expectation of what an informative letter from the East should be like and the actual correspondence received. Both contrasts are then bridged by the introduction of Annie's letter. Forgetting that he is addressing himself "personally, and with asperity, to every man, woman, *and child* east of the Rocky Mountains," [italics added] Mark Twain presents Annie's epistle as "a model letter" which finds the full approval of its western recipient, because it is "eminently readable and entertaining" and "it contains more matter of interest and more real information than any letter I ever received from the East." While it bridges the contrasts introduced in the first part of the sketch, the epistle itself contrasts significantly with the correspondence discussed previously. This contrast, as Mark Twain explains in all detail and with a great deal of conviction, derives solely from the *child perspective*, the use of the "innocent eye." Just as the personal letters from Aunt Nancy and his mother had led him to generalize about the inferior quality of letters from adults, he is now led to extol generally the virtues of letters written by children.

The most useful and interesting letters we get here from home are from children seven or eight years old. This is petrified truth. Happily they have got nothing to talk about but home, and neighbors, and family—things their betters think unworthy of transmission thousands of miles. They write simply and naturally, and without straining for effect. They tell all they know, and then stop. They seldom deal in

abstractions or moral homilies. Consequently their epistles are brief, but, treating as they do of familiar scenes and persons, always entertaining.

This exposition is a fair evaluation of the significance of the child perspective for the contents of the letter and for their rendition. It also embodies major aspects of Mark Twain's literary credo, and, with a very few changes, it can be read as a competent commentary on the salient characteristics of *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*.

Both the letter and the novel are marked by two further characteristics proceeding directly from the use of the innocent eye. They are, first, the exposure of human weaknesses and follies as well as social evils, and, secondly, the pervading humor. The first of these, too, was fully perceived by the author, although his elucidation of it is couched in rather concrete terms. Having presented the letter, he continues, "This child treads on my toes, in every other sentence, with a perfect looseness, but in the simplicity of her time of life she doesn't know it." A perfect recognition of this possible, but—as the "Boy's Manuscript"<sup>5</sup> shows—by no means inevitable, use of the innocent eye is further implied in the critical comment on Aunt Nancy's letter. While Mark Twain sarcastically condemns its outspokenly homiletic passages, he implicitly welcomes and utilizes the totally different possibilities for social and moral criticism proceeding from the use of the child perspective. The final sentence of the sketch, stating his preference for hearing "about the cats at home and their truly remarkable names" as opposed to reading "'The Evil Effects of the Intoxicating Bowl,' illustrated on the back with a picture of a ragged scalliwag pelting away right and left, in the midst of his family circle, with a junk bottle," resumes the attack on Aunt Nancy's letter in more general terms and relates it to a number of early pieces in which he satirizes the Sunday School tract and other goody-goody literature.

Humor as the trademark of all of Mark Twain's writings is no significant criterion in attempting to establish a relation between Annie's letter and *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. Its

<sup>5</sup> This manuscript, so named by Albert Bigelow Paine, first printed in the 1939 edition of *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* published by the Limited Editions Club and reprinted in Bernard DeVoto's *Mark Twain at Work* (Cambridge, Mass., 1942), pp. 25-44, has been dated 1870-1872. It is in the form of a boy's diary and constitutes Mark Twain's first sustained effort of combining child perspective and first person narration.

presence is so obvious here that the author does not explicitly comment on it, except by calling Annie's letter "eminently readable and entertaining." But no doubt he perceived that writing from Aunt Nancy's perspective and writing from the perspective of a child yielded different kinds of humor. Choice of the latter perspective opened up new and far more realistic means for its production. Ungrammatical vernacular, the introduction of false or silly meanings by joining clauses to the wrong antecedents, the inadvertent suggestion of a non-existent causal nexus, the mixture of various incompatible spheres in the names of the kittens, the unconscious unmasking of hurtful truths and social irregularities, and the well-meaning transmission of misunderstood abuse—all these proceed naturally from what purports to be Annie's pen and produce a humor quite unlike that in the more labored passage taken from Aunt Nancy's letter. The humor of the first part of the sketch, significantly, lies not so much in what the correspondents say or do, but rather in Mark Twain's comments, in the second part, on the other hand, it is Annie's letter that provides the humor, while the author's comments are quite serious. The only humorous touches which he himself adds are the two interpolations in the text of the letter itself, and these, rather than criticizing what is being said, merely demonstrate his appreciation of the comedy inherent in the use of the innocent eye.

The devices for producing humor and social and moral criticism result from the use of the first-person narrator and the child perspective. The reappearance of these devices in *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* therefore does not necessarily suggest that Mark Twain in any way consciously returned to Annie's letter. Still, there are correspondences in matters other than those of technique that might suggest a closer relation between the two works. The reference to "Moses in the Bulrushers" in the first sentence of the letter reappears, in the same misspelled form, in the first chapter of the novel. It may be argued that the child perspective and the story of Moses and the "Bulrushers" are associatively linked in Mark Twain's mind, but the possibility cannot be excluded that this particular Bible story belonged to the "Matter of Hannibal" and thus naturally figures in both accounts of the experiences of a child in the Mississippi Valley. A similarity between the names of Mr. Sowerby in the letter and Mr. Sowberry Hagan, who is men-

tioned in Chapter vi of the novel, may be explained in the same manner. Mark Twain's correspondence and autobiographical material do not help us to solve the question of the possibility of a direct influence, as far as I can see, there is not a single reference to "A Complaint about Correspondents." This fact seems easy to explain. Soon after the sketch was reprinted in Mark Twain's first book, *The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County, and Other Sketches*, published in 1867 by C. H. Webb of New York, the author had cogent reasons to forget certain phases of his recent past. The same reasons which may have caused him to invent and repeat the story of the origin of his nom de plume<sup>6</sup> in all likelihood also warned him not to refer to "A Complaint about Correspondents." If that is so, then this fact convincingly demonstrates how well Mark Twain himself felt he had succeeded in making Annie's letter seem real.

While there is no prima facie evidence that "A Complaint about Correspondents" is the germ for *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, it is still safe to conclude that in writing Annie's letter Mark Twain realized what could be done with the combination of the first-person narrator and the child perspective. He must have noticed that this combination was perfectly suited for his purposes both as a humorist and as a moral and social critic. Although there is no indication that prior to the writing of the novel he used it again for the same ends, it is not likely that an insight into its efficacy ever left him. "THE END YOURS TRULY, HUCK FINN," only recently restored to the text,<sup>7</sup> reminds us that, in a sense, *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* is nothing but an extended epistle—a fact which points to Annie's letter as an important antecedent.

<sup>6</sup> See Paul Fatout, "Mark Twain's Nom de Plume," *American Literature*, XXXIV, 1-7 (March, 1962).

<sup>7</sup> See Henry Nash Smith, ed., *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (Boston, 1958), pp. 272-273.

*Hawthorne's Coverdale and Spenser's Allegory of  
Mutability*

BUFORD JONES

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MILES COVERDALE, the severely disillusioned and sometimes sardonic narrator of Nathaniel Hawthorne's *The Blithedale Romance*, reflects at the conclusion of his story how he once had regarded the idealistic enterprise at Blithedale as the beginning of a virtually endless attempt at the perfection of human nature "I remember our beautiful scheme of a noble and unselfish life, and how fair, in that first summer, appeared the prospect that it might endure for generations, and be perfected, as the ages rolled away, into the system of a people, and a world"<sup>1</sup> Coverdale's stay at Blithedale lasted for only six months, and the changes that took place during this time would seem to justify his subsequent disenchantment with the American "Arcadia" of which he had been so hopeful a member

These changes, in fact, not only constitute the major movement of the book but also point up Hawthorne's theme that regeneration of individual men or of society as a whole is impossible as long as the heart remains unpurified of its pride, ambition, or selfishness. The feelings of love and brotherhood that had begun one bright spring morning end in discord and enmity on an autumnal midnight with the suicide of Zenobia, the failure of Coverdale's and Hollingsworth's friendship, and the unworthy and rather meaningless marriage of the latter with Priscilla. Of the major figures in the story Coverdale is the only one who is neither consciously malignant nor naively misguided, consequently, his meditations on the subject of mutability (which begin quite early in the summer) provide the thematic context for the dramatic climax that occurs on his return to Blithedale after a sojourn in the city. The costume party in the woods, he realizes, is actually an allegorization of his earlier impression that the whole enterprise would turn out to be "an

<sup>1</sup> Nathaniel Hawthorne, *The Blithedale Romance*, ed. William Charvat, Roy Harvey Pearce, et al. (Columbus, Ohio, 1964), p. 245. Subsequent parenthetical references are to this edition.



illusion, a masquerade, a pastoral, a counterfeit Arcadia, in which we grown-up men and women were making a play-day of the years that were given us to live in"

Coverdale's return (ostensibly "to learn the upshot of all my story" but actually, as the reader later discovers, to see whether Priscilla's attitude toward him has changed) is not merely a narrative necessity but a key episode in the plot structure of the story. Its significance, moreover, is enforced by the juxtaposition of cold fact and pastoral illusion, for Coverdale had already imagined his reappearance before the community in terms of an allegoric figure from the seventh Mutability Canto of Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*. Since Hawthorne's familiarity with the works of Spenser, and particularly with *The Faerie Queene*, is common knowledge,<sup>2</sup> it is somewhat surprising that no one has yet noticed the extent to which he employed the contest between the goddesses Nature and Mutability to create an ironic background for criticizing the Blithedale community's imperfect notion of the permanence of its utopian scheme.

The isolated "hermitage" Coverdale discovered amid the tendrils of a large grapevine encircling a pine tree became a symbol of his individuality and offered him a measure of protection from the increasingly obvious egocentricity and pride of Hollingsworth and Zenobia. There, he recalls,

I used to sit, owl-like, yet not without liberal and hospitable thoughts. I counted the innumerable clusters of my vine, and fore-reckoned the abundance of my vintage. It gladdened me to anticipate the surprise of the Community, when, like an allegorical figure of rich October, I should make my appearance, with shoulders bent beneath the burthen of ripe grapes, and some of the crushed ones crimsoning my brow as with a blood-stain. (p. 99)

In *The Faerie Queene* the goddess Mutability has allegoric figures of the seasons, months, and hours march in procession past the court of Nature as proof of the former's dominance "within this wide great Vniuerse." September marched by "laden with the spoyle / Of haruests riches" and "enricht with bounty of the soyle."

<sup>2</sup> See, for example, Randall Stewart, "Hawthorne and *The Faerie Queene*," *Philological Quarterly*, XII, 196-206 (April, 1933); F. O. Matthiessen, *American Renaissance* (New York, 1941), pp. 243-249; and Hubert H. Hoeltje, *Inward Sky: The Mind and Heart of Nathaniel Hawthorne* (Durham, N.C., 1962), pp. 27-28, 135.

Then came *October* full of merry glee  
 For, yet his noule was totty of the must,  
 Which he was treading in the wine-fats see,  
 And of the ioyous oyle, whose gentle gust  
 Made him so frolick and so full of lust

Coverdale's fantasy of himself as an allegorical figure of rich October never materializes, although he does visit the hermitage a final time before summoning enough courage to make his reappearance before the community. His anticipated mood of merriment, joy, and frolicsomeness yields, however, to one of solitude, foreboding, and wild exhilaration "methought a wine might be pressed out of [the ripened grapes], possessing a passionate zest, and endowed with a new kind of intoxicating quality, attended with such bacchanalian ecstasies as the tamer grapes of Madeira, France, and the Rhine, are inadequate to produce. And I longed to quaff a great goblet of it, at that moment!" (p. 208)

This extravagant desire for sensual abandonment shows the extent to which Coverdale himself has changed since midsummer, when he implored Priscilla "to look into the hearts where [she wished] to be most valued." His feeling that everything at Blithedale will soon veer toward a change for the worse—that, in Spenserian terms, Nature may become subject to Mutability—makes no impression whatever on her. Their last conversation before his departure dramatically illustrates this Spenserian theme.

"Shall I find you here, on my return?"

"I never wish to go away," said she.

"I have sometimes thought," observed I, smiling, "that you have spiritual intimations respecting matters which are dark to us grosser people. If that be the case, I should like to ask you what is about to happen. For I am tormented with a strong foreboding, that, were I to return even so soon as tomorrow morning, I should find everything changed. Have you any impressions of this nature?"

"Ah, no!" said Priscilla, looking at me apprehensively. "If any such misfortune is coming, the shadow has not reached me yet. Heaven

<sup>8</sup> *Faerie Queene*, VII vii 56, 38, 39. The second and third lines may be paraphrased. For his head was unsteady from the new wine which he had been treading in the wine vat. All Spenser quotations are taken from *The Works of Edmund Spenser: A Variorum Edition*, ed. Edwin Greenlaw et al. (Baltimore, 1932-1939).

forbid! I should be glad if there might never be any change, but one summer follow another, and all just like this!"

"No summer ever came back, and no two summers ever were alike," said I "Times change, and people change, and if our hearts do not change as readily, so much the worse for us! Good bye, Priscilla!"

I gave her hand a pressure, which, I think, she neither resisted nor returned. Priscilla's heart was deep, but of small compass, it had room but for a very few dearest ones, among whom she never reckoned me (pp 142-143)

Coverdale's circuitous wanderings about the farm reflect his painful, though temporary, unwillingness to see what changes have occurred since his departure, the masquerade party in the woods (containing, significantly, "allegoric figures from the Faerie Queen") confirms his direst forebodings of the Blithedale reformers' mistaken notion that they are on their way to the establishment of "a modern Arcadia." Consequently, his long-delayed return is in some ways the antithesis of the allegorized procession of *October* before Nature and Mutability in the natural paradise on Arlo Hill.<sup>4</sup> Although both Coverdale and Spenser's *October* are subject to the laws of Mutability, the former does not fulfil his dream of becoming Spenser's pastoral symbol of innocent pleasure and Golden-Age abundance, he is mockingly considered an intruder and pursued as if he were "a mad poet hunted by chimeras."

Thus, within the framework of the Nature-Mutability contest, Coverdale's confession (usually cited only to criticize his belated and halting declaration of love) assumes a new significance, since it shows how the triumph of Mutability over Nature in *The Blithedale Romance* is far greater than that in *The Faerie Queene*. Spenser is forced to admit that "all things stedfastnes doe hate / And changed be," yet can take refuge in the traditional doctrine of Christian Naturalism.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Spenser emphasizes elsewhere (VII vi 26-28) that Arlo Hill in southern Ireland was once an unchanging vernal paradise much like his own Mount Acidale (VI x 6-28) and Garden of Adonis (III vi *passim*). These similarities were doubtless not lost on Hawthorne. The reasons for Arlo Hill's eventual subjection to Mutability are described in VII vi 36-55. For a fuller study of these Spenserian sources, see my doctoral dissertation, 'Nathaniel Hawthorne and English Renaissance Allegory' (Harvard University, 1962), pp. 29-54, 103-142.

<sup>5</sup> See Brents Stirling, 'The Concluding Stanzas of Mutability,' *Studies in Philology*, XXX, 193-204 (April, 1933).

But time shall come that all shall changed bee  
And from thenceforth, none no more change shal see  
(VII vii 59)

Coverdale is permitted no such vision of immutability, his somber view is the result of his increasingly cynical awareness that the "years are darkening around me" and of the inescapable fact that the youthful Arcadians have, in the space of a few years, yielded up their places at Blithedale to "the town-paupers, aged, nerveless, and disconsolate" His last comment about the Blithedale experiment is a despairing cry concerning its mutability, "Alas, what faith is requisite to bear up against such results of generous effort!"

## BOOK REVIEWS

MR CLEMENS AND MARK TWAIN *A Biography* By Justin Kaplan New York Simon and Schuster [1966] 424 pp \$7.95

Huzzas of newspaper and magazine reviewers have led Manhattan "in" groups to prophesy that, come Pulitzer Prize day, this book will be proclaimed last year's best biography. Reasons for the praise are patent. The author, who resigned an editorship in trade publishing to turn biographer, knows how to please readers. Like the later Van Wyck Brooks, he heaps vivid details about his subject's life and surroundings onto every page. When he finds a lively quotation or bit of gossip, particularly a lurid or sexy one, he includes it. Details and quotations often are so presented as to appear to be new discoveries. He skips much heavy stuff that academic critics consider vital but some lay readers find dull—currents of thought, literary trends, detailed discussions of outstanding writings. And he offers striking psychological interpretations of his subject's life and works.

Despite the fact that non-specialists on Twain (a large share of the journalistic reviewers) discovered many merits and few faults in this study, specialists will be distressed by numerous inaccuracies, documentation that leaves much to be desired, and questionable interpretations.

Inaccuracies occur in accounts of every period of the humorist's life. A few instances. Clemens never said that in 1857 he "set off for the Amazon to seek a fortune in cocoa" (p. 53), the product was "coca," and the omitted *o* made a big difference. The narrator of the 1865 "Jumping Frog" story is not "the gentle naïf, the bookish dupe" of the later writings (p. 35). When the Clemenses moved to Hartford in 1871, the city had not been made prosperous by "insurance companies which had proved their stability by virtually rebuilding Chicago after the great fire" (p. 140), the fire was still a week away. Twain did not in 1871 or later rewrite early chapters of *Roughing It* to develop the initiation theme (p. 135). The notebooks of 1878-1879 do not prove that the humorist was obsessed by sex while abroad (pp. 221-222). Clemens theorized about "The Golden Arm" not in 1897 but in 1895, and it became not "the supreme illustration of the art of the oral story" (p. 309) but simply an illustration of the importance of timing a pause just right. The letter from Clemens to John Adams was written not in 1897 but in 1898, and its contents differ greatly from the summary (p. 340).

Since the author, as he says, in general cites "primary sources only" (p 389), readers unacquainted with secondary sources get the impression that he has unearthed much new material. Although popular reviewers praise Mr Kaplan for giving the first full accounts of Clemens's marriage and family life, his social involvements, achievements as a lecturer, career as an author of subscription books, publishing activities, business enterprises (among them the backing of the Paige typesetting machine), years abroad, and final years, the fact is that all these except the story of the Paige machine have been treated, in several instances more thoroughly. And while numerous passages that reviewers praise for being "frank" are titillating, often they are questionable. An instance is the vituperative and therefore dubious newspaper insinuation (p 15) that during his Far Western years Clemens "had been rolled in a whorehouse and probably had a venereal disease." Similarly racy but unreliable is Artemus Ward's pun (p 391) which may hint that Clemens had contracted gonorrhea, this Mr Kaplan himself acknowledges "may be just a pointless joke."

Documentation, vulnerable in the first instance because it is obviously prejudiced and in the second because its relevance and point are obscure, elsewhere is vulnerable for other reasons. Pages 173-174 tell of the humorist's appearance at the door of the Aldriches after they have been his overnight guests. "Clemens said, 'Aldrich, come out. I want to speak to you.' Lilian Aldrich put her ear to the door and listened in horror as Clemens complained about the noises they had made in their bedroom. 'Our bedroom is directly under yours, and poor Livy and her headache. Do try to move more quietly, though Livy would rather suffer than have you give up your game on her account.'" Mrs Aldrich, in the source cited, records two opening sentences, here omitted, in Clemens's scolding: "In Heaven's name, Aldrich, what are you doing? Are you emulating the kangaroos, with hob-nails in your shoes, or trying the jumping-frog business?" Later Mrs Aldrich reports that "we had been unconscious of walking heavily or making unnecessary noise the rugs [were] soft on the floor, we could only surmise that the floor boards had some peculiar acoustic quality. On tiptoe we finished our toilets." Admittedly, omission of this matter makes the Kaplan version more sexy than the Aldrich one, but it does not increase one's faith in the biographer. Elsewhere, Mr Kaplan apparently adds matter to his sources, e.g., on page 17, where he is telling about the humorist's brash behavior while crossing the Isthmus aboard a steamer in 1866: "A lady all in brown, backbiter, gossip—'damned old meddling fool'—said *he drank too much*, was often as drunk as the piper that

played before Moses, *played cards all night, was coarse and disgusting and clearly not a gentleman*" The words here italicized occur in neither of what appear to be the two sources—the *Notebook* (p 40) and *Mark Twain's Travels with Mr Brown* (pp 26-27)—though no footnote informs the reader that they are And of course the report in the latter is fictitious and humorous and hence undependable Nor is this the only place where the biographer places more reliance upon the veracity of humorous accounts than he should instances are his use (p 58) of Senator Stewart's attempt at comedy as he tells of Clemens's stay with him in 1867 and of Mark Twain's intemperate explosions, full of humorous overstatements, taken far too literally on many occasions

Mr Kaplan's generalizations about Clemens-Twain are also open to doubt As several instances cited above suggest, he tends to picture the youthful humorist as a wilder and woolier Bohemian than authentic testimony justifies Elsewhere, even the data offered in the book fail to support a claim—the one for instance that only for a brief period between 1880 and 1885 "Twain achieved a maturity and a balance which permitted him as a man to live fully in the glorious, opulent present and as an artist to live imaginatively in the transfigured past" (p 232) Finally, throughout the book, psychoanalytical probings and pronouncements are often more than speculative, they are wildly speculative For good measure, we are given not one psychoanalytical interpretation of Twain's life and writings but several (or fragments of several) that Mr Kaplan and other lay analysts have contributed A result is that no single coherent and systematic psychoanalysis gives this study unity Confident, though, that since the "creative unconscious" of "the writer Mark Twain" lies closer to the surface than it does with most men, [his] life is full of psychologically loaded accidents and coincidences," Mr Kaplan expects readers to find as revealing as he does several phenomena that he has happily noticed For him a fact significantly related to *Huckleberry Finn* is that during a visit to Hartford in 1868 Clemens saw children gathering huckleberries—important because "by the slow process of unconscious creation the huckleberry, a Hartford fact, was to become a talisman for recapturing the Hannibal past" (p 64) Mr Kaplan evidently thinks that this claim is so obviously justified as to need no demonstration Equally apparent and significant for him is the fact that in 1878, when part way through writing *Huck*, the humorist ended a fictitious journey in Heidelberg The reason? One derivation of the town's name "is from a telescoping of *Heidelbeereburg*, meaning Huckleberry Mountain" (p 219) On the same page we are informed, erroneously, that "'Hadleyburg' is an

anagram of 'Heidelberg,'" and again it is assumed that we shall immediately perceive that this is psychically and symbolically portentous. Other "accidents and coincidences" just as "psychologically loaded" dot many pages of this book.

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WALTER BLAIR

MON CHER PAPA *Franklin and the Ladies of Paris* By Claude-Anne Lopez New Haven, Conn. Yale University Press 1966 xv, 404 pp \$7.50

This book, by one of the four present editors of the *Franklin Papers*, does not profess to illuminate Franklin's place in history or literature, but merely to portray his French sojourn "from a feminine angle." It represents an ingenious weaving of surviving manuscript materials concerning his relations with French women. In literary style, it is certainly one of the best books ever written about Franklin, a reason why it should be generally acclaimed.

A series of sparkling vignettes, particularly of Mme Brillon, La Contesse d'Houdetot, and Mme Helvétius, admirably relates Franklin's acquaintanceships to the social life of the times. The members of Franklin's entourage come alive in this book, but Franklin himself appears as a rather wooden figure, the author of a number of letters, most of which are already well known. Nor does Mrs. Lopez consistently view her material from "the feminine angle." In quoting, for example, a famous letter in which Franklin expressed disapproval of his daughter's requesting dressmaker's frills from Paris, Mrs. Lopez completely ignores the young lady's somewhat testy reply that since she was then frequenting high social circles, her father should be the last person "to have wished to see me dressed with singularity."

Mrs. Lopez draws on her feminine perceptions and psychological insights to depict French ladies, but in dealing with Franklin allows conservative opinions to prevail over her own intuition. She even announces for the record her intention of destroying "the myth that Franklin in Paris behaved like an old lecher having a jolly time." This does not mean that she fails to take full advantage of the fact that sex is the main ingredient of her book, but sex is treated in the vein of Hollywood movies of a generation ago—all surface glamour and allure, but no consummation.

There is no question that the correspondence between Franklin and Mmes Brillon and Helvétius is highly amatory. Yet Mrs. Lopez accepts the view that Franklin was not serious in his propositions—that he was



only playing a game. Why do some scholars think that such an interpretation is more to Franklin's credit than the opposite one that he really meant what he said? Mme Brillon's husband considered Franklin as a fellow roué (p. 134). And Mme Brillon herself in a frank estimate of Franklin's character observed that concupiscence was his only great sin. "All great men are tainted with it: it is called their weakness" (p. 38). Some of John Adams's admittedly denigratory remarks concerning Franklin's lubriciousness are also quoted by Mrs. Lopez, but she omits the most telling: "the moment an American minister gives a loose to his passion for women, that moment he is undone" (to Elbridge Gerry, September 3, 1783).

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A OWEN ALDRIDGE

THREE CHILDREN OF THE UNIVERSE *Emerson's View of Shakespeare, Bacon, and Milton* By William M. Wynkoop. The Hague: Mouton, 1966. 199 pp. GUIL 22.

The "three children" that Mr. Wynkoop has chosen for careful study exemplify Emerson's statement in "The Poet":

For the Universe has three children, born at one time, which reappear under different names in every system of thought, whether they be called cause, operation and effect, or, more poetically, Jove, Pluto, Neptune, or, theologically, the Father, the Spirit and the Son, but which we will call here the Knower, the Doer and the Sayer. These stand respectively for the love of truth, for the love of good, and for the love of beauty. These three are equal. Each is that which he is, essentially, so that he cannot be surmounted or analyzed, and each of these three has the powers of the others latent in him and his own, patent.

Shakespeare (the Knower), Bacon (the Doer), and Milton (the Sayer) are representative men, a universal trinity. They represent Emerson's view of the stages and development of history; they stand for the Greek (the Classical), the Christian (the Romantic), and the Modern (the Reflective or Philosophical), and for the stages of historical development—Innocence, the Fall, Redemption. And because they were "born at one time" and expressed the particular virtues and defects of their age, they represent also Emerson's views of Renaissance England.

This reminder of Emerson's schematism is more important than the scheme itself, and still more important is the fact, as Mr. Wynkoop's analysis shows, that it admits and accounts for a considerable com-

plexity of human powers and behavior Emerson was able to reduce history to biography and to read in it the parable of his being because its stages, for him, corresponded to the elements of the soul—to instinct, intellect, and moral sentiment His scheme, accordingly, was particularly valuable in helping him depict moral psychology "I would draw characters, not write lives," he wrote in 1832 "I would evoke the spirit of each Milton Shakespeare I would make Milton shine I would mourn for Bacon I would fly in the face of every cockered prejudice and speak as Christ of their good and evil"

In this journal passage Emerson declares not only his Plutarchian intent but his confirmed critical bias He was a thorough student, fully acquainted with the scholarship of his subjects And he was resourceful in the "cunning reading" by which he drew out the evidence of the literary text, for he was especially concerned with the high critical task of discovering the order of a writer's thoughts and the essential quality of his mind But he read and judged as a poet-priest Criticism, with him, becomes psychology—becomes moral, the assessment of the human faculties and their proper harmony and development, and his representative men are psychological types, touchstones of moral excellence and wholeness of being (In his practice as well as in his assumption of the superiority of moral sentiment over intellect and instinct, he was the first New Humanist)

Emerson's views of Shakespeare, Bacon, and Milton were derivative, Mr Wynkoop finds most of them in Coleridge But the origin of his views is a matter of less moment than the ways in which Emerson found himself in "his men" and the uses, at what stages and for what duration of his life, he made of them Shakespeare raised the basic question of the moral source of art ("Shakspear was no saint,—yet see what genius!"), Bacon raised the more troublesome problem of allegiance to contemplative pursuits or action, and Milton raised the problem of his vocation as artist—how to inspire These are questions of biography that, like those of the "influence" of this trinity of writers, Mr Wynkoop has not set out to answer They would have furnished him, I think, the basis for a more substantial and significant conclusion and perhaps transformed his able monograph into a work of criticism

THE RECOGNITION OF EDGAR ALLAN POE *Selected Criticism since 1829*  
 Edited by Eric W. Carlson Ann Arbor, Mich. University of Michigan Press [1966] xv, 316 pp. \$7.50

Most readers will find this an interesting and useful volume. It is a collection of essays by American, British, and French critics and creative writers illustrating the extent of public recognition of Poe's literary significance from his own time to the present. It begins, very properly, with the comments of John Neal on some of the poems of Poe's 1829 edition which Neal had read shortly before their publication. It includes Lowell's excellent essay (1845) and two or three others published in Poe's lifetime, showing that Poe was not wholly unappreciated by his contemporaries. It is a pity that Mr. Carlson felt obliged to include Griswold's obituary notice, which is defamatory and of little critical importance. Presumably the sonnets of Mallarmé and E. A. Robinson were included under the rubric "recognition," but it is difficult to justify on the same ground the inclusion of such slight pieces as those of Henry James, Swinburne, Yeats, and Hart Crane. It turns out that a considerable proportion of the selections were written by men who, though they are distinguished writers, have little competence as critics of Poe. Their names will attract readers, but their essays will contribute little to the right understanding of Poe's works.

I do not include in this category Edmund Wilson, T. S. Eliot, and Allen Tate, whose essays have substantial value. Wilson's, first published in 1926, is one of the best, and though one cannot quite say as much for the essays of Eliot and Tate, they both have been influential in creating the image of Poe now most popular with young intellectuals and would-be intellectuals. This image, though in the opinion of this reviewer somewhat distorted, is something every present-day student of Poe must consider. D. H. Lawrence's essay, perhaps the first Freudian interpretation, must also be considered because it is said to have been "seminal" in its influence on many succeeding psychoanalytical studies. Aldous Huxley's essay, though almost wholly negative, proves that the compiler was impartial in his selections. The best critical essays by other literary notables are those of the poets William Carlos Williams, W. H. Auden, and Richard Wilbur. It strikes this reviewer, however, that each of these critiques reveals more of its author's own way of feeling and thinking than it does of Poe's. In fact, all the essays by brilliant literary men from Lawrence to Wilbur are more exciting than informative. These men read Poe's poems and tales imaginatively and found it hard to escape from themselves, as a consequence they tended

to overlook literal and obvious meanings and often attributed to Poe what at best is only half his. Yvor Winters's essay does not follow this pattern because it is negative, it detracts from Poe but adds nothing. One can be sure that Winters has read Poe carefully, but his low estimate of his work is due to a total lack of sympathy with Poe's kind of writing and a dogmatism that recognizes only one kind of literary excellence.

Of the essays drawn from strictly academic critics—and there are only three—that of J. W. Gargano is the most useful. Presumably the editor allowed no space for essays on particular themes, such as Poe's theory of poetry, or on individual tales and poems, otherwise he might have enriched his volume with several, including his own article "Symbol and Sense in Poe's 'Ulalume,'" of more value to the student than some that he does include.

*University of Virginia*

FLOYD STOVALL

HEAVEN BEGUILLES THE TIRED *Death in the Poetry of Emily Dickinson*

By Thomas W. Ford. University, Ala.: University of Alabama Press  
[1966] 208 pp. \$6.95

That death is a significant theme in the poetry of Emily Dickinson is an accepted commonplace, and Thomas Ford has undertaken in breadth and depth an investigation that is long overdue. Mr. Ford demonstrates conclusively that "religious insecurity originally motivated [Emily Dickinson] to consider death and immortality as a major theme in her poetry," but his primary contention—that her preoccupation with death was the most powerful formative influence on her poetry—is not convincingly presented. This latter thesis ought not to be rejected out of hand, but it is difficult to accept the argument as Mr. Ford presents it. He repeatedly asserts that poetry, for Emily Dickinson, was but a substitute for the religious conversion that would have allayed her fears of death and obviated her poetic utterance. His efforts to restrict his discussion to the single subject of death have detached his work from the overall context of the Dickinson canon and prevented the establishment of important relationships that would have gone far to give his book the significance its subject deserves.

Mr. Ford does, however, establish that the poet's attempts to resolve the enigma of death lasted a lifetime, and while he understands much of the existential quality of her thought, he interprets her sustained intellectual curiosity as desperate bewilderment and regards her eschewal of restrictive systems as confused inconsistency. In his broad coverage, which he has conveniently divided into early, middle (1861-1865, to

coincide with the Civil War years), and late periods, Mr Ford has too often been satisfied with less than the best evidence, and his probings rarely plumb the full depth of the poetry or the theme. Because he does not build upon the foundations that Johnson, Anderson, and Chase have already laid in explication of poems central to his case, his discussions of such poems as "Because I could not stop for Death" and "I heard a Fly buzz—when I died" remain disappointing and jejune. And it is astonishing to find, for example, that Mr Ford has omitted the elegy "Lay this Laurel on the One" from the group of poems related to the death of Emily's father. The provenance of this poem, which is readily available in the Johnson edition, offers evidence of Emily Dickinson's solicitation of her friends' counsel on the subjects of death and immortality, sheds additional light on her attitude toward her father, and could lend support to Mr Ford's tenuous theory about the effect of the Civil War on her poetry. But not all the shortcomings of this volume belong to its author, for Mr Ford has been rather badly served by his editors. The reader is bound to be annoyed by the unconventional punctuation of quotations, the erratic substitution of the dash for the hyphen, and the confusing system of documenting the poems by number and the letters by page.

Even with its faults, this book will be of interest to serious students, though they must continually remind themselves as they read it that "This was a Poet" capable both of exploring faith without orthodoxy and of comprehending ambivalence without despair.

*United States Military Academy*

JACK L. CAPPS

JOSEPH HOPKINS TWICHELL, MARK TWAIN'S FRIEND AND PASTOR. By Leah A Strong. Athens, Ga: University of Georgia Press [1966]. x, 182 pp. \$5.00.

One of the many virtues of Joseph Hopkins Twichell (1838-1918) was staying power. Pastor of the Asylum Hill Congregational Church of Hartford for nearly half a century, he was Mark Twain's good friend for forty-three years. Leah Strong's dual intention is to tell the story of the man's life and to explore the friends' relationship, which she conceives mainly, although not entirely, as Twichell's influence upon Twain. As biography, her book corrects some past misconceptions about Twichell and usefully summarizes events of his youth and old age. It traces his early spiritual growth and clarifies his non-doctrinal, humanistic faith. That faith derived partly from Horace Bushnell and asserted mankind's evolutionary capacity for spiritual perfection and the indi-

vidual's present capacity for "Christian manhood" the ability "to 'take it' with dignity" no matter "what unfortunate circumstances beyond his control may combine to crush him" Yet as biography the book fails in a crucial respect The account of Twichell's life for the period of Mark Twain's Hartford years becomes incidental to the influence study, which is essentially an essay in Twain's biography Ironically, for the very decades when Twichell's impact upon Twain was most direct and personal, the reconstruction of the minister's personality and life flies to pieces The author's two intentions work at cross purposes

Miss Strong discusses Twichell's personal, religious, and literary relationships with Twain Her estimate of his influence embraces the minister's role in *A Tramp Abroad*, his function as catalyst and critic, and the energy-releasing "Twichell atmosphere" he provided his friend But the heart of the book lies in the author's two pronged, with-and-without-Twichell thesis, unfortunately oversimplified in this review Miss Strong first asserts that only after knowing Twichell did Twain develop "a partial answer to the bleakness" of his "severe determinism" that saw man as "a pawn in the hands of forces which he cannot control" Twain found his answer, she believes, in Twichell's formula that under any circumstances a man "could still be a man—and being a man was a good thing," and this discovery, she feels, went into the portraits of Miles Hendon, Jim, Huck, King Arthur, Joan, and others Secondly, Miss Strong believes that "The solution [to Mark Twain's decline as a writer] appears to rest in the interrelation of the psychology and the philosophy of the man himself and in Twichell's influence on both" That is, with Twichell at a distance, Mark Twain was less "able to maintain the kind of emotional balance that was essential to his writing" No longer could he keep his naturalism "in its place as artistic background" for the story, but instead drifted into the uninhibited expression of pessimistic ideas The philosophy remained the same, but the human check was gone "While Twichell was with him, he was able to maintain the necessary balance Without Twichell, he failed in that respect"

In my opinion a greater use of the current resources of the Mark Twain Papers would have helped Miss Strong's book Also I feel that her study in effect demonstrates the unimportance of Twichell's influence upon Twain's writing Between sermon and novel one detects an occasional similarity of phrasing in passages emphasizing the importance of being a man—but no flow of vital influence as original idea or absorbed belief The view of significant literary creation implied in Miss Strong's central thesis is too mechanical, and Mark Twain was more

self-directed than she perceives. Long before he knew Twichell his conception of man included such ideal elements as courage, endurance, and dignity, traits whose appearance in his characters Miss Strong attributes to Twichell's influence. And given the aging artist's guilt feelings, the hard blows he absorbed, and his sensitivity to life's disintegrating processes, it hardly seems possible that even Twichell's presence could have enabled him to sustain the balanced vision of his middle years.

*Miami University*

EDGAR M. BRANCH

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VOICES OF DESPAIR *Four Motifs in American Literature* By Edward Stone Athens, Ohio Ohio University Press [1966] xi, 240 pp \$5.00

Described by its author as "an attempt to write a history of despair in the literature of the United States," this book undertakes to fulfill its objective through a presentation of the four "motifs" of its subtitle. These motifs, which turn out to be variously images, symbols, and ideologies, and to each of which a chapter is devoted, are, in sequence, an animal, the ant, a color, white, a life, that of Edward Eggleston, and a phrase, "Nothing at all." In his preface, Mr. Stone tells us that each of the first two chapters treats "the entire range of American literature," that the third chapter "concentrates on the post-Civil War generation," and that the final chapter places its emphasis on the present century.

By bringing together numerous instances of the expression of despair in American literature, and, for that matter, in other literatures, Mr. Stone has rendered a service, despite one's recognition that it is impossible, even in an extended essay, to explore the recurrence of a motif throughout the entire range of American literature. Although all the chapters contain matters of interest and contribute something to achieving the author's avowed aim, many readers will find the fourth chapter, because of its more limited scope, the most useful. Other readers, no doubt, will be especially interested in the chapter that presents Edward Eggleston as an exemplar of the post-Civil War literary man who, confronted by the "new" scientific and social thought, gave voice to sentiments that if not exactly despairing were at least less optimistic than those characteristically expressed by Emerson and Whitman.

For some purpose, the rationale of which is not explained, the book has a double set of annotations. The text itself is accompanied by extensive footnotes (one of which runs three pages) containing illustrative and supplementary materials. There is also a section of numbered notes, mostly documentary, toward the end of the volume. Only by referring

to the second set of notes, arranged in chapter-by-chapter groupings, can the reader learn the identity of the authors of certain "faceless" quotations in the text

Although readers of the book may be annoyed by the procedure just described and by other details of methodology or style, they will still be aware that the present study makes a valuable addition to our knowledge of the note of despair in American literary thought and expression. On a much wider scale than that undertaken in Harry Levin's *The Power of Blackness*, Mr. Stone has examined the "other side" of the American writer's reaction to many aspects of feeling and thought and experience in a country—and a world—in which change and opposition have been the constants.

*Winona Lake, Indiana*

KENDALL B. TAFT

BEWUSSTSEINSLAGEN DES ERZÄHLENS UND ERZÄHLTE WIRKLICHKEITEN By  
Jurgen Peper. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1966. vi, 321 pp. Guild 36.

Mr. Peper's study of the different modes of perceived and expressed reality in representative American novels of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries synthesizes already established perspectives and contributes some original insights. The title can be translated accurately as "Levels of Consciousness in the Narration and Narrated Reality," although he also utilizes the conventional "centers of consciousness" formulations. Mr. Peper's revised dissertation (Freie Universität Berlin, 1962) is a useful, eclectic study of various components of the centers-and-levels of consciousness complex, the different modes of "reality" in fiction, and the traditional "point of view" criteria in relation to philosophical positions and perspectives from the visual arts. His major contribution is application of his definitions and categories to Faulkner's novels, although much of the ground has been worked before. My major negative criticism is that the author relies often on his terminology and formulas instead of analysis. Sometimes the result is an unnecessary complication. The critical vocabulary and classificatory apparatus tend to smother accurate exegesis.

After exploring kinds of perception and cognition in Melville, De Forest, Stephen Crane, Hemingway, and Proust, he devotes the second half of his book to Faulkner, particularly to *Absalom, Absalom!* In order properly to assess the various modern techniques of developing a center, or centers, of consciousness in a novel, the author traces, initially, the origins and evolution of various allegorical, typological, and symbolic ways of seeing and thinking from the Middle Ages through Kant up to the American Puritans and through the Transcendentalists. He also



refers in his introduction to the work of Sokel, Friedrich, Brinkman, Emrich, and Auerbach

Mr Peper's wide range of foci makes the book a valuable introduction to the diverse aspects of fictional "reality." From the exploration of the realistic spectrum of awareness among the characters in *Miss Ravenel's Conversion* he ventures gradually into more sophisticated psychic experiences. The study ranges from a purely rational, objectively narrated subject-object relationship in *De Forest* to the more complex impressionistic, expressionistic, and symbolic depictions in Faulkner. On the way we move through analyses of direct and indirect discourse, authorial reporting, stream of consciousness, and complex time-space distortions that require an understanding of photographic, cinematic, and painters' techniques. It is not possible to reduce his various schemata to a single formula, but one might say that he is trying to systematize certain laws of logic, consciousness, and perception as they can be found peculiarly operative in American fiction. One rather obvious polarity obtains in the apparently photographic (but often highly symbolic) registering of outer phenomenal reality (or personal sensation) in Hemingway and, on the other hand, the apparently more complex inner perceptual transmutations in Faulkner.

Starting from the ancient body-soul, body-mind pairs, Mr Peper gradually extends the purview of his analysis of Faulkner's work. The first half of the book is in a sense introductory to the Faulkner half. Taking a key Faulkner word, "endure," Mr Peper moves on to more metaphysical oppositions such as the organic-inorganic elements of metaphor and symbol. After several chapters concerned with time-space transformations, he discusses the animated still-life technique in Chapter xi. Here we find an analysis of what every reader of Faulkner is struck by—his uncanny way of making the inanimate take on qualities of the human, and vice versa. Machines, for example, assume the aspects of persons associated with them, and persons become imbued with the qualities of the machines with which they work. Chapter xii, "Timelessness as Silence" ("Zeitlosigkeit als Stille"), deals with Faulkner's depictions of movement in stasis, suspension, and other time-space paradoxes. His oxymoronic structures involve roaring silences, soundless violences, and other incongruities and distortions of traditional categories of perception. Mr Peper also explores other paradoxes in Chapter xiii, "Timelessness as Immobility" ("Zeitlosigkeit als Bewegungslosigkeit"), in Chapter xiv, "Timelessness as Discontinuity" ("Zeitlosigkeit als Diskontinuität"), in Chapter xv, "Spacelessness" ("Raumlosigkeit"). It is in these chapters that Mr Peper devotes sustained attention to the techniques and modes of modern

painting and cinema as consciously exploited analogues of Faulkner's fictional methods. Chapters xvii and xviii deal, respectively, with the structure and language of *Absalom, Absalom!* A final chapter briefly recapitulates his major foci.

*University of California, Riverside*

GEORGE KNOX

CHICAGO RENAISSANCE *The Literary Life in the Midwest, 1900-1930* By Dale Kramer New York Appleton-Century [1966] x, 369 pp \$7.95

Dale Kramer's book on the Chicago writers, centered in personalities, gossip, and an unremittingly splashed-on "color," is best characterized by its own subtitle. Mr. Kramer offers no new interpretation of the renaissance as a whole nor of its participants, and he assimilates into the record only a scattering of additional knowledge, most of it of biographical interest and much of it from already published memoirs and studies. Like his earlier published accounts of Heywood Broun and Harold Ross, this work is a casting of reporter's information into journalistic prose for an apparent journalistic interest.

The personal relationships of the Chicagoans, those primarily of the century's second decade, their love affairs, the appearance and feel of their meeting places and institutions, the alternating of personalities between complement and clash, and the fads and interests which swayed the group are all given in detail, but the reporting from this quarter is stretched out for the fullest possible effect, and literary judgments are often similarly extreme and made without warranting argument. Sherwood Anderson is labeled the movement's "great unpublished author," but Anderson published more volumes during the Chicago years than any of his contemporaries except Masters. Sandburg's *Chicago Poems* is said to be padded out with "oddments," apparently to heighten amusement at the poet's saving ways. And Ben Hecht is characterized as a "bewildered and bewildering" liar without preventing Mr. Kramer from paralleling Hecht's memoirs where they fit his need.

A revealing case of approximation to fact occurs when Mr. Kramer writes of Harriet Monroe's approach to Pound, "It had seemed likely that if he answered a do-good Chicago spinster in cahoots with the Philistines that his message would be as near to a kick in the teeth as he could manage from the distance." We are told further that "Harriet was dismayed by the way he 'stamped' on poets whom she admired—Masefield and Noyes, for example." But this is to wander from vulgarity into stock fictions. Miss Monroe was not at all "dismayed" at

criticism of Masfield and Noyes but used both men, throughout *Poetry's* earlier years, as particular examples of feebleness in contemporary verse. She was, on the other hand, not necessarily delighted "by the work of younger poets [Pound] sent." Some she liked, but Pound's own constant complaint was of her unwillingness to accept his recommendations or, having accepted them, to delay publication for months. Eliot's and Williams's poems were only two cases in point. In this matter, as in too many others, the author's rendering of his subject is simple slapdash.

Where he is nearest to his sources, Mr. Kramer can make a useful story, as he does for example in hewing to Max Putzel's narrative of Masters's publication of *Spoon River* in Reedy's *Mirror*. But anyone curious about the Chicago movement, or the individual participants in it, will probably want to avoid unnecessary labor by turning directly to the studies and memoirs lying behind Mr. Kramer's own account.

Duke University

BERNARD I. DUFFEY

SANTAYANA, ART, AND AESTHETICS. By Jerome Ashmore. Cleveland: Press of Western Reserve University, 1966. xii, 139 pp. \$5.00.

Santayana in "Apologia Pro Mente Sua"—his famous reply to his critics in *The Philosophy of George Santayana*, edited by Paul Arthur Schilpp—distinguishes between exposition and criticism. Whereas exposition presents the object of its concern—German philosophy, for example—in its own terms, criticism places the same object in a larger framework of discovery and judgment. Irving Singer's *Santayana's Aesthetics* (1957), which uses Dewey and C. I. Lewis as reflectors and formulates the author's own aesthetics to redress the inadequacies of Santayana's, is criticism with a vengeance. Mr. Ashmore's study, which carefully sifts influences but eschews reflectors and which maintains throughout a scrupulous but sympathetic objectivity, is admittedly more exposition than criticism.

Other full-length expositions of Santayana have of course stressed his aesthetics. Willard E. Arnett's *Santayana and the Sense of Beauty* (1955) and M. M. Kirkwood's *Santayana: Saint of the Imagination* (1961), as their titles indicate, find Beauty or Imagination "the figure in the carpet" of all his thinking. Mr. Ashmore differs from them in restricting his analysis to those writings of Santayana that specifically treat the aesthetic experience, poetry and its criticism, and a theory of art. He examines these writings and topics in a generally chronological sequence, beginning with *The Sense of Beauty* (1896), grouping "Walt Whitman: A Dialogue" (1890), *Interpretations of Poetry and Religion* (1900), "What is Aesthetics?" (1904), and *Three Philosophical Poets* (1910), then turn-

ing to *Reason in Art* (1905), and finally disposing of "Penitent Art" (1922), "An Aesthetic Soviet" (1927), "The Mutability of Aesthetic Categories" (1925), "On My Friendly Critics" (1921), and *Dominations and Powers* (1951) in a brace of chapters entitled "Embellishments" and "Modifications"

As these chapters make clear, particularly the last, the later Santayana was to some extent at odds with the earlier on "the doctrine of beauty as objectified pleasure, the levels of analysis of poetry, and the scope of the Life of Reason" But Mr Ashmore minimizes the shift He maintains—and rightly, I think—that Santayana's development, in all departments of his thought, was an unfolding of a few dichotomies implicit in the poetry of his student days and partly generated by the two worlds—Castilian vs Puritan-Transcendental—of his most impressionable years

Mr Ashmore's most convincing demonstration of the continuity despite variations between the American and the European Santayana is in the comparison of what is said about the industrial and liberal arts in *Dominations and Powers* with what is said about the rational and fine arts in *Reason in Art* Difficult to improve upon in scholarly precision are two statements in Mr Ashmore's conclusion "In general Santayana's aesthetic theory is individualistically relative, hedonistic, contextualistic, and voluntaristically non-cognitive" and "most of his theory is not uniquely attributable to him but quite definitely is derivable from his contemporary psychology, from previous philosophy, and from previous literary criticism"

Although Mr Ashmore explains how the later Santayana's doctrine of essences helps account for the "modifications" he so expertly pinpoints, the reader desires a fuller discussion of Santayana's passage from psychology and ethics to epistemology and ontology as major interests The writing of *Scepticism and Animal Faith* and *Realms of Being* taught Santayana to view all aspects of the aesthetic transaction more from the perspectives of fiction and mystery than from those of fact and problem Mr Ashmore could have made this learning process more vivid without merely repeating Messrs Singer and Arnett or Mrs Kirkwood

*University of Michigan*

JOE LEE DAVIS

LA POETICA DELL' IMAGISMO By Ruggero Bianchi Milan U Mursia  
[1965] 243 pp

*The Poetics of Imagism*, written for Italian readers by Mr Bianchi, assistant in American literature at the University of Turin, is a book

made up of a preface, seven essays (some of them previously and separately published in an earlier version), thirty pages of notes (mainly bibliographical), and an index of names. Five of the essays are devoted to single authors (Hulme, Storer, Fenollosa, Pound, and Amy Lowell), and these five essays are preceded by an introductory one entitled "The Imagist Adventure" and followed by a concluding one called "The Actuality of a Poetical Theory."

The author is mainly concerned with the American Imagists, with the aesthetic base of Imagism, and with illustrating some of the most significant aspects of Anglo-American Imagism, but he succeeds in outlining very adequately the whole movement, including the influences which led up to it and the literary effects which followed it. He presents Imagism as "a most important connecting link between the most valuable accomplishments of the nineteenth century and the most significant contemporary production."

University of California, Santa Barbara

J CHESLEY MATHEWS

THE HOUND AND HORN *The History of a Literary Quarterly* By Leonard Greenbaum. The Hague: Mouton, 1966. 275 pp. GUIL 30.

*The Hound and Horn* was an unusual magazine for its times. It had little or none of the financial worries of its contemporaries, Lincoln Kirstein, its principal editor, was guaranteed sufficient funds to publish it "in a format that was both decorous and distinguished." Mr. Greenbaum's study of the magazine's history from 1927 to 1934 is sober, workmanlike, and informative. These characteristics certainly serve the purpose far more successfully than a flamboyant journalistic style or a misdirected sense of the Zeitgeist.

While *The Hound and Horn* displayed an illustrious list of contributors, it sponsored few new writers but was much more inclined to feature the talents of well-established ones. As Mr. Greenbaum has pointed out, *The Hound and Horn* adopted three literary-social movements during the late twenties and early thirties: Humanism, Agrarianism, and Marxism. It is important to note, as our author has put it, that the magazine had "a history of periodic commitments and withdrawals." The reason was not so much that Kirstein's tastes were uncertain, but that the ideas just did not bear editorial scrutiny too long. The original idea was to make the magazine "a kind of Harvard American Mercury and London Criterion and North American Review all in one." But, at Kirstein's insistence, *The Hound and Horn* left the Yard for the outside world. The original issues, subtitled "A Harvard Miscellany," had what Greenbaum calls "a built-in air of decorum and money."

Expectedly, the review often featured the work of R P Blackmur, who lived in the Harvard orbit, though he was not a student. One of the most important pieces was a two-part essay by him on T S Eliot (1927-1928), in the 1928-1929 year of issue he and Bernard Bandler joined the editorial staff. As a result of Bandler's influence, the journal began to discuss Humanism, this discussion was exhausted and dismissed by the July-September, 1930, issue. The demise of the New York *Dial* spurred on the editors to take a more prominent role. In early 1930 (Blackmur had left the editorial staff, though he continued to write for the journal), the prospects of merging with Philip Wheelwright's and James Burnham's *Symposium* were considered but abandoned.

In the 1930-1931 year, Allen Tate and Yvor Winters joined the staff. Kirstein defined the magazine's function as that of providing "as good technical criticism for intelligent laymen as possible, the minimum of rhetoric and rhapsody." In the year 1932-1933, politics became the principal concern, both of the right and of the left. This is not to suggest that *The Hound and Horn* was to become committed politically. Instead, it ceased publication in 1934, primarily because Kirstein had transferred his interests to the ballet and could not sustain the magazine.

All of this and much more are given in Mr Greenbaum's interesting study. It should remain a basic source book of its subject for a long time. Perhaps his only weakness is a slight tendency toward being naively impressed by everything sponsored by the magazine. *The Hound and Horn* suffered from the usual vagaries of little-magazine history. It was much more ambitious than most of them, but it moved from one preoccupation to another. While it had an impressive format and a quite distinguished table of contents, it was uneasy and erratic and unstructured. The many good editors on its staff had to lead to some important contributions, and these are of course worth the history of the magazines. But it changed its directives so often that it cannot be considered a great review, only an extremely interesting one.

University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee

FREDERICK J HOFFMAN

THE POETIC WORLD OF WILLIAM CARLOS WILLIAMS By Alan Ostrom  
With a Preface by Harry T Moore Carbondale and Edwardsville,  
Ill Southern Illinois University Press [1966] xiv, 178 pp \$4.95

This book is part of the series edited by Harry T Moore and called *Crosscurrents: Modern Critiques*. Its author is a poet-critic who teaches literature at Brooklyn College of the City University of New York.

Though Mr Ostrom's book is divided into four chapters, it is in fact a long continuous essay on Williams's poetry, proceeding from topic to topic in a survey of what seem to Mr Ostrom the fundamental characteristics of Williams's poetic theory and practice. There are discussions of Williams's ideas about poetic diction, prosody, the image, and the imagination, discussions of his attitudes toward nature and the American city, discussions of the theme of sexual experience in his work, discussions of his notion of the relation between the poem and reality, discussions of the continuity of his work with the romantic tradition, discussions of his differences from Pound, Eliot, and Stevens, discussions of his reconciliation of local and universal truth, and discussions of the theme of dissociation or "divorce" in his work. Mr Ostrom's treatment of these topics is illustrated by abundant quotations from Williams's theoretical statements in his prose and by many citations of poems or parts of poems. The texts from the poetry are analyzed, sometimes at length, as examples of one aspect or another of Williams's work.

There is much of value in Mr Ostrom's book. A love for Williams's poetry is strongly apparent as the driving power behind the book and is one of its most attractive qualities. Such openness to Williams's work is of great value in the current revaluation of his place in American literature. Moreover, much that Mr Ostrom says about the underlying presuppositions of Williams's poetry is accurate, and there are many sensitive discussions of particular texts, for example the analysis of "Between Walls," or of "The Raper from Passenack," or of the two versions of "The Locust Tree in Flower."

I have, nevertheless, some reservations about this book, reservations partly about what Mr Ostrom says, partly about what he leaves unsaid. To state some of these reservations briefly will perhaps suggest directions for further consideration of Williams's work.

In spite of the fact that Mr Ostrom quotes Williams's affirmation that "it is NOT to hold the mirror up to nature that the artist performs his work," and in spite of the fact that he discusses in various places Williams's idea that the poem is a thing in action, nevertheless he tends to remain faithful in his own critical language to the traditional notion that literature "represents" or "copies" nature. For example, he speaks of the way Williams "comes very close to Pound's (early) idea of the morality of art deriving from the accuracy of its representation" (p. 48), or says Williams "chooses from his observation those details that make an accurate replica of his actual world" (p. 55), or describes "The Bull" as "a clear picture of a minute corner of the natural world" (p. 71). It is extremely difficult to avoid representational terms, so ingrained are

they in our thinking about literature, but the fact is that Williams meant and practiced what he said (said most fully in the prose sections of *Spring and All* [1923]) Words in his poems are not pictures of reality, but nodes of linguistic energy which have been "dynamized," as he puts it, by the things they name, and are now independent, active entities These entities may be combined to create a poem which is a thing in itself, free of other things, and with a movement of its own which is "intrinsic, undulant, a physical more than literary character" ("Author's Introduction" to *The Wedge* [1944])

Distorting Williams's notion of the relation of the poem to reality, giving less than full emphasis to his dynamic theory of language, and often forgetting the way his poems are temporal movements rather than "mosaic" patterns, Mr Ostrom also for the most part ignores or obscures the fundamental action which organizes Williams's work This movement is repeated again and again in various forms throughout his writing It is the action of growth whereby a flower, a tree, a woman, a poem, or a culture rises out of the darkness of "the unfathomable ground / where we walk daily," takes form in the light, and in that flowering reveals momentarily the evasive presence which Williams calls "the radiant gist" To treat Williams more or less exclusively as a poet of horizontal organization is to miss the temporal rhythm of ascent which structures his work A final reservation Mr Ostrom's discussion fails to cite two works by Williams which are relevant or even necessary to a full understanding of his poetry *In the American Grain* and *Pictures from Brueghel* Though he refers to *The Desert Music* as an example of the "weakness" of some of Williams's late work (a judgment with which I disagree), he does not even mention one of Williams's greatest poems, "Asphodel, That Greeny Flower" His treatment of the poet is incomplete in that it is based almost wholly on *The Collected Earlier Poems*, *The Collected Later Poems*, *Paterson*, the *Selected Essays*, and *The Selected Letters*

Johns Hopkins University

J HILLIS MILLER

THOMAS WOLFE *Memoir of a Friendship* By Robert Reynolds Austin,  
Tex University of Texas Press [1965] viii, 154 pp \$4.75

When *Look Homeward, Angel* appeared, Robert Reynolds, at the time editor of a business publication and author of a novel, wrote a favorable review for *Scribners* and later sent Wolfe a copy of his own novel Wolfe responded with a note, they soon met, and from that time until Wolfe's death the resulting friendship was a major force in Reynolds's



life and, he claims, a significant force in Wolfe's as well " I believe that each time we met I somehow gave him renewed confidence in his worth and in his work " This short book, completed just before Raynolds's death in 1965, is his sentimental memoir of the friendship He offers few literary insights, indeed, hardly mentions individual books, much of the memoir is occupied with the trivia of the association what they ate, how many beers they drank, sightseeing together, Wolfe's clothes, his reactions to strangers and to children, his easily bruised sensibilities, and speculations about what Wolfe was thinking Conversations are reconstructed, presumably verbatim, though there is no indication that Raynolds relied on journals or notes Assuming accurate reporting, these comments of Wolfe may be the most interesting feature of the book, whether upon Maxwell Perkins's pruning ("God, they cut my heart out!"), on learning to write, on the profession of writing ("It's the greatest thing in the world to be a writer!"), or his own tribulations Also worth noting is Raynolds's conviction that Wolfe's makeup included a strong religious strain, that he rejected communism and nazism with equal disdain, and that he hastened his own death by overwork

The text includes a few previously unpublished letters from Wolfe to Raynolds

Clemson University

H MORRIS COX

FRONTIER EDEN *The Literary Career of Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings*

By Gordon Bigelow Gainesville, Fla University of Florida Press  
[1966 ] xvii, 162 pp \$6.50

Although other work received substantial recognition, Marjorie Rawlings's reputation as a writer rests primarily on *The Yearling* (1938) and *Cross Creek* (1942) The novel tells the story of Jody Baxter and his family, who live satisfyingly but precariously in the Florida scrub, the boy Jody manfully survives, for him a tragic shock, the shooting of his pet deer, whose depredations in the garden threaten the livelihood of the family *Cross Creek*, rich in description and anecdote, is an exuberant account of Marjorie Rawlings's life at her grove near Orange Lake Then there are a number of notable short stories, one of which, "Bennie and the Bird Dogs," may justly be considered a classic of its kind

In view of the acclaim which was hers for a time—election to the National Academy of Arts and Letters and a Pulitzer Prize—surprisingly little critical and scholarly attention has been paid to her work We may ask whether there is really a deficiency in the quality of the achievement,

or whether her way of seeing and taking her world has not been the fashion, perhaps thought not sufficiently profound. The mood and tone are rather persistently that of sympathetic humor, from tender to boisterous, rather than of caustic satire, of brave triumph rather than despairing defeat, of loving celebration rather than bitter alienation.

Gordon Bigelow's able, sound, and thorough study is therefore the more welcome, breaking an undeserved silence in critical response. He skilfully details Marjorie Rawlings's literary career, from failure to success to relative neglect, with illuminating discussion of her struggles to find her right subjects, themes, voice. The appraisals of her accomplishments are thoughtfully balanced and fair. The choice of title is felicitous. Frontier Eden, with its land and waters, flora, fauna, and people, its primitive hardships and compelling beauty, evokes the best in Marjorie Rawlings's writings. That Mr Bigelow implies no ironies in the title may for some suggest a lack of depth in the writings under discussion, serpents like moccasins and rattlesnakes are less ominously disturbing than the Prince of Darkness. Mr Bigelow, who himself has an enriching knowledge of the region, justly believes that the books transcend the limits of locale, speaking a language which is more than dialect. The scholarly and critical integrity of this study is informed by an awareness of these larger issues and by an understanding of pertinent American literary traditions.

Particularly grateful must be those who knew Marjorie Rawlings, who knew her for the perceptive, vivid, generous woman she was.

*University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill*

CLIFFORD LYONS

WILLIAM FAULKNER *A Study in Humanism, from Metaphor to Discourse* By Joseph Gold Norman, Okla. University of Oklahoma Press [1966] x, 205 pp \$4.95

Joseph Gold's *William Faulkner* is a thoughtful and—considering the present posture of Faulkner criticism—courageous study, emphasizing the novels written after 1940 and advancing two theses. The first is that Faulkner is a humanist, by which Mr Gold means one interested in the possibilities and potential majesty of man and the opportunities and variety of life. This humanism is, he believes, a religious, though not a theological, view of man and is consistent throughout Faulkner's writing. The second thesis is that the primary difference between the early and late novels is one of method and emphasis rather than of idea. Faulkner made what Mr Gold calls "a move from the making of myth to the construction of allegory," and thereby lowered the artistic quality of his work.

Mr Gold's study begins with brief explications of some of the early works and is particularly excellent on *Absalom, Absalom!* and good on "The Bear" as a transition work. He then examines the later novels in detail. He finds *Requiem for a Nun* Faulkner's poorest novel, but he regards all the works after *Go Down, Moses* as failures, except for the final comic novel, *The Reivers*. These failures result, he thinks, from the intrusion of the author in rhetorical passages—both in his own person and in the voices of his characters—from the inclusion of ideas not directly related to the action of the stories, and from a corruption of style.

This study of a very uneven writer is itself flawed in two major respects. Mr Gold depends on one of his articles about *The Hamlet*, published in *Wisconsin Studies*, without reprinting it. Since the article is available to only a limited number of the readers, his comments on the "Snopes Trilogy" seem to suffer initial truncation. In an effort to contrast the early work with the late, he tends to overstate the differences. For example, on page 41, in comparing *A Fable* and *Light in August*, statements are made that are so exaggerated that they approach falsehood—as instances, the claim that there are no long speeches, no rhetoric, and little description in *Light in August*. Yet, despite these exaggerations, what Mr Gold says about the fundamental difference in the methods in the two novels seems well observed and well expressed.

In pointing out that Faulkner's sense of his public mission finally stood between him and his private artistry, that he moved "from the creativity of his imagination towards the contrivances of his intellect," Mr Gold has made a contribution to the criticism of Faulkner that will not be popular but is important as the substitution of critical judgment for the too common unqualified adulation of the later novels.

University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

C HUGH HOLMAN

SAY THAT WE SAW SPAIN DIE *Literary Consequences of the Spanish Civil War*. By John M. Muste. Seattle: University of Washington Press [1966] xi, 208 pp. \$5.95

The title of John Muste's book, taken from a poem by Edna St. Vincent Millay, is more appropriate than the subtitle because the first suggests passionate response and the second promises scholarly completeness and whatever objectivity is possible on a topic that continues to attract the politically committed. This is very much a book with a thesis. "The literature of the Spanish War is important because it reflects both the idealism and the disillusion of the writers who had

seen it as a holy war " The writers in this case are not Roman Catholics, who often did see the struggle as a holy war, but rather Americans and Britishers who entered Spain as Marxists and left it, Mr Muste alleges, convinced that no ideology is worth the horrors of war Only those literary consequences which bear upon the pacifistic thesis are discussed

The result is a study remarkable more for its generosity of spirit than for its contributions to our knowledge of literature and politics Mr Muste can be criticized on two points In the first place, many of those who went to Spain as socialists, e g , George Orwell, did not abandon their belief in socialism The most significant novel of the war, André Malraux's *L'Espoir*, which Mr Muste barely mentions, is by no means the product of disillusionment Although his analysis of minor writers, like Edwin Rolfe and John Cornford, is perceptive and just, Mr Muste insists that Hemingway's *For Whom the Bell Tolls* is a failure for ideological difficulties that are not so much in the novel as in its critic In the second place, Mr Muste himself seems unsatisfied with the restrictions imposed by his thesis He refers briefly to Roy Campbell and other men who affirmed General Franco's *Movimiento Nacional* The selected bibliography extends far beyond the rather limited range of the text But Wyndham Lewis and a number of French and German writers (Bernanos, Claudel, Mauriac, Brecht, Regler, Renn) deserve serious consideration if Mr Muste's large generalizations are to be tested by the literary evidence

What we have in *Say That We Saw Spain Die* is a moral statement comparable in intent if not in quality to Goya's *Los Desastres de la Guerra* The scholar is admirable but the scholarship is not up to the level of Hugh D Ford's recent book, *A Poets' War British Poets and the Spanish Civil War*

Amherst College

ALLEN GUTTMANN

COUNTEE CULLEN AND THE NEGRO RENAISSANCE By Blanche E Ferguson  
New York Dodd, Mead [1966] ix, 213 pp \$5.00

The title, *Countee Cullen and the Negro Renaissance*, makes promises the book does not deliver and arouses expectations it does not fulfil As biography, the book is hopelessly obsessed by an image of its subject that only the subject's blindest friends can find appealing As criticism, it eschews examples and illustrations and meaningful comparisons and contrasts As history, it is what Henry Ford is credited with saying history was some decades back it's bunk As writing, it is juvenile at the

level of "This is our hero See how good and kind he is," though it is obvious that the writing was not meant for children

But the book begins as near to the beginning as it gets to anything—when Countee Porter is eleven, and is adopted by a childless couple, and assumes the Cullen name (The book gives no evidence of a formal adoption) Where he was born and who his parents were is not even speculated on The orphaned, or abandoned, child took over the Cullens completely, and at least the Reverend Cullen took him over too The boy did well in school, showed "early promise," and at fifteen or sixteen was already writing poetry of sufficient merit to win minor prizes and get published Shortly he was going more or less regularly to Europe on those summer trips a grateful congregation financed for the Reverend Cullen Countee soaked up European culture in great heart-stopping draughts, and it was then that he first felt torn between being a "poet" and a "Negro poet" In Paris, he felt at home, and "soon learned the places that served the best onion soup, and he quickly acquired the habit of stopping in for this delicacy after an evening's entertainment" (So much for the writing) In Rome, he made pilgrimages to the Protestant cemetery and wept at the grave of Keats

It was to Paris that he returned after the breakup of his marriage to Yolande DuBois, the only daughter of the great W E B DuBois We learn nothing either of why they married, or of why the marriage was dissolved The wedding, however, was brilliant, and, recounted here, it gives the author an opportunity to make another of her catalogs of names then well known as belonging to some of the prime movers of the Negro Renaissance And, indeed, that is about all Mrs Ferguson does with that stirring decade when American Negro art, encouraged by the praise of such writers and critics as H L Mencken, V F Calverton, Paul Green, and Carl Van Doren, first won the attention of the American public, and *the Negro* became the main theme of a host of serious novelists and dramatists, including Sherwood Anderson, Eugene O'Neill, and DuBose Heyward There is no assessment of the period, no attempt to put it in either its social or its aesthetic context, no suggestion that, going commercial purely, it blunted more talent than it sharpened and blighted more careers than it brought to birth That decade deserves better than this

And so, indeed, does Cullen He was no genius, but he was a poet of fine if fragile talent, and he deserves a better biography than this saccharine, watery account

THE ADDED DIMENSION *The Art and Mind of Flannery O'Connor*  
Edited by Melvin J. Friedman and Lewis A. Lawson New York  
Fordham University Press [1966] xvii, 309 pp \$6.95

Few writers who have died young and in the midst of work have been so immediately honored by memorial and critical essays as has Flannery O'Connor. The unity and concentration of her two novels and two collections of short stories make a small body of fiction highly accessible to critics. Its excellence justifies their attention. This present *omnium-gatherum* is an important contribution from which later critics may well begin. The ten critical essays complement one another without being redundant, although frequently the same passages from Miss O'Connor's lectures and articles are cited to support differing views.

The themes identified by Frederick J. Hoffman in the initial essay—redemption, Christ, and prophecy—set the lesson studied in the subsequent essays. Broadly, the problem of belief separates the contributors into those who do (wholly or in part) and those who do not share with Miss O'Connor a religious orientation: the former explicate in her own terms, the latter, while at times less accurate, raise acute questions. For example, Sister M. Bernetta Quinn understands that in *The Violent Bear It Away* the struggle of the backwoods boy Tarwater to accept his vocation as prophet is not intended to eventuate in love, but it is love which Louis Rubin persuasively demands as essential to redeem the failure of Tarwater's uncle, Rayber, modern man, who can neither save the boy from prophecy nor win him for rationalism. Nathan A. Scott, Jr., and Father Harold C. Gardiner analyze Miss O'Connor's vision of reality embodied in grotesquerie which circles back on itself to reach by *coincidentia oppositorum* sacred meaning in the profane. This approach is further specified by Miss O'Connor in her own lecture "Some Aspects of the Grotesque in Southern Literature," heretofore unpublished except in a college magazine. These elucidations qualify the analysis of imagery by Irving Malin, who calls "wise blood" compulsive narcissism, not, as Miss O'Connor seems to intend, the God-implanted compulsion to worship which drives Haze Motes without regard for comforts or proprieties. Such contrasts in interpretation should stimulate other careful readings of the movement of natural and supernatural grace which Caroline Gordon identifies as the architectural principle controlling Miss O'Connor's fiction. Further perspectives in relation to region and structure are offered by C. Hugh Holman and P. Albert Duhamel. Except for Mr. Malin's essay, the only other specific study of Miss O'Connor's language in this volume is Mr. Friedman's

brief survey of dominant objects, of things which become "hierophantic" in the fiction. The collection thus emphasizes more fully the meanings achieved by Miss O'Connor than the methods of achievement.

In the final third of the book the editors turn to Miss O'Connor herself and include selections from her correspondence with a friend, William Sessions, and excerpted statements on the "formative influences" in her life. Catholicism, the South, and the writer's craft. Out of this assortment sound the gaiety, irony, humility, judgment, and inviolate honesty which constitute the power of Miss O'Connor as person and artist.

Valuable additions are the account of her literary reputation by Mr. Friedman in the introduction and the bibliography compiled by Mr. Lawson as exhaustively as possible at this time.

*Salem College*

LOUISE Y. GOSSETT

THEODORE ROETHKE *An Introduction to the Poetry* By Karl Malkoff  
New York: Columbia University Press, 1966. x, 245 pp. \$6.75

Critical interest in the poetry of Theodore Roethke of any detailed sort began with Kenneth Burke's brilliant, lengthy essay in the Winter 1950 issue of the *Sewanee Review*, but it was rather slow in getting under way. At the time of his death in 1963, however, Roethke had won the top American literary prizes, and critical appraisals of his work were appearing with greater frequency. Though miscellaneous articles of real value, a book of essays, and a small monograph have now been devoted to the poet, Mr. Malkoff's is the first full-length study by a single commentator, and it is a very good one.

As his subtitle indicates, Mr. Malkoff has planned his book as an introduction to Roethke's poetry, and he carries out his aims with directness and great thoroughness. His opening chapter discusses as much biographical background as seems relevant to a detailed treatment of his author's books and individual poems. Roethke's poetry cannot be properly understood without some sense of the life behind and in it, and Mr. Malkoff has given his reader just the right proportion of it for his critical purposes.

Once beyond this preliminary material, Mr. Malkoff moves immediately into the world of the poems, which he discusses chronologically and thematically in six chapters. As a reader of individual poems, he is sensitive, intelligent, and tasteful, his points are made deftly. While he is comprehensive, he carefully avoids any kind of laborious over-reading of the texts. The themes and techniques of Roethke's verse, the

traditional and experimental aspects of it, are clearly shown in the course of their development

Two particular parts of this study seem to me worth singling out for special attention. The first of them is Mr Malkoff's handling of the remarkable and admittedly difficult sequence of "developmental" poems of childhood which Roethke published in *The Lost Son* and *Praise to the End!* and later included as one group in *Words for the Wind*. In his letters, Roethke frequently says that no one has "done" these poems, elicited the overall design, or come to grips with the full complexity of images and meanings. Mr Malkoff addressed himself to this task and has written a valuable commentary, for which readers, teachers, and future critics must be grateful.

The second part of the volume I should like to call notice to is the way in which religious and mystical themes are treated. Mr Malkoff has talked over Roethke's reading in philosophy and religion with the poet's widow and with Stanley Kunitz, from what could be learned about this subject he has judiciously suggested the theological and visionary framework that most enlightens the reading of Roethke's mystical poems. There is a danger, of course, in such a method of attributing to the poet a larger interest in ideas and a more considerable learning than he possessed, but Mr Malkoff in general skirts these perils successfully. Paul Tillich, Martin Buber, and Jacob Boehme are used to illuminate the metaphysical conflicts central to the later poems.

Mr Malkoff's "introduction" is, then, more than what it so modestly claims to be. No one who cares for Roethke's poetry can afford to miss it.

*University of Illinois, Chicago Circle*

RALPH J. MILLS, JR

TOUGH, SWEET & STUFFY *An Essay on Modern American Prose Styles*

By Walker Gibson. Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press  
[1966] xii, 179 pp. \$4.50

The chief virtue of this unorganized and insufficiently meditated book is that it addresses, intermittently, a good subject, so that in agreeing with its truisms and correcting, page by page, the errors of judgment, failures of perception, and a certain amount of sheer misinformation, you can remind yourself of various useful matters. You can even combine some familiar things in new ways. For example, a chapter-long analysis of what the author presents as the "striking" and in some respects "astonishing" stylistic differences between the opening of *A Modern Instance* (misdated) and *A Farewell to Arms* reveals instead exactly the opposite: a similarity in basic grammar and function so marked



that one may realize more particularly than before how Hemingway's extraordinary style came as a further refinement of a long-established American style of descriptive narration—there is a close parallel in our tradition of descriptive painting, and the Howells passage quite obviously composes a highly stylized panorama entitled "peace and plenty"—and how too, this common style was not exclusively the invention of the author of *Huckleberry Finn*, as students are sometimes allowed to suppose

*Tough, Sweet & Stuff* is offered as "An Essay on Modern American Prose Styles" In fact it is a good deal less The single American prose style discussed at length is that of first-person narration, the examples selected—Hemingway's *Frederic Henry*, Bellow's *Augie March*, Warren's *Jack Burden*, Wright Morris's *Earl Horter* of *Love Among the Cannibals*, Salinger's *Zooey*, Hayden Carruth's "narrator" in *Appendix A*—all use this, at present, rather exhausted narrative convention (Calling *As I Lay Dying* "a distinguished early example" of this convention, hardly new when it was used in *Walden* and *Moby-Dick*, does not increase confidence in the book's grasp of its chosen materials) The other two kinds of verbal expression chiefly discussed, advertising copy and "officialese," are not in any proper sense *prose* styles at all They aim only at manipulation, not also at truth But Mr Gibson's view of effectiveness and virtue in writing is similarly one-sided, being occupied only with affective mannerisms "I don't care how 'right' he is he's got to be *nice* to me!"—that is his stated rule (p 19) It seems grossly insufficient for the serious analysis of style

Bryn Mawr College

WARNER BERTHOFF

THE SPANISH AMERICAN RECEPTION OF UNITED STATES FICTION, 1920-1940

By Arnold Chapman University of California Publications in Modern Philology, Vol 77 Berkeley and Los Angeles University of California Press 1966 226 pp \$5 00

The author of this book, appropriately dedicated to Arturo Torres-Río, is professor of Spanish at the University of California at Berkeley The volume is divided into four main parts "Voices of the Frontier" (Bret Harte, Mark Twain, James Oliver Curwood, and Jack London), "New Pioneers" (Waldo Frank and Sherwood Anderson), "The Generation of 1930" (John Dos Passos, Theodore Dreiser, and Sinclair Lewis), and "The Darkening Stream" (William Faulkner, Erskine Caldwell, Louisa May Alcott, and Pearl S Buck) Incidentally, Louisa Alcott seems to be in rather strange company here

The author makes it clear that North American writers were seldom read in the original and that, more often than not, the translators were baffled by the American idiom. In such cases their rendering does a distinct disservice to the writers of the United States.

It is interesting to note that many times the impetus to make a critical appraisal of North American writers came from France, and translations and criticism generally from Spain, where the *Revista de Occidente* figures prominently. As one might expect, Buenos Aires was the scene of the greatest activity in Spanish America, with the magazine *Sur* and the newspaper *La Nación* in the vanguard. In Argentina the principal writers concerned were Pedro Henríquez Ureña, Jorge Luis Borges, and Julio Fingerit. Chile comes next, with the Editorial Ercilla and the writers Mariano Latorre and Ernesto Montenegro (one of the most competent translators). Other countries were principally represented by one person: Jorge Mañach, for example, in Cuba, José Carlos Mariátegui in Peru, Baldomero Sanín Cano in Colombia, and Genero Fernández-MacGregor in Mexico.

The author disclaims any attempt to allow "this study to turn primarily into a study of influences," and this is understandable, for it would mean another book. And yet he shows himself capable of doing just this in the section on Waldo Frank, which might well be called "Waldo Frank and Eduardo Mallea." The political side of the coin is not brought to light by Mr. Chapman. As a case in point, he does not enter into the question whether leftists among the United States novelists held a special attraction for Spanish Americans, or whether Waldo Frank's criticism of the United States endeared him to the Latin Americans.

The extensive bibliography (pp. 195-226) is a valuable study in itself. It is divided into "Translations, Spain", "Translations, Spanish America", and "Criticism, Spanish America (chronological)". There is no index.

Arnold Chapman has rendered a distinct service to scholars and other interested parties by making possible a better understanding of Spanish American attitudes toward the United States, and by showing us the appreciation, south of the Rio Grande, of an important period of American literature.

*University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill*

STURGIS E. LEAVITT

FROM WEST TO EAST *Studies in the Literature of the American West*

By Robert Edson Lee Urbana, Ill University of Illinois Press 1966  
x, 172 pp \$5.00

Every commentator upon the American Western movement has been forced to admit that its literary record has not lived up to expectations. In this study Mr. Lee has attempted to assign reasons for this disappointing failure, and has tried to analyze the chronic inability of Western writers to produce an imaginative record worthy of the grandeur of the Western movement. His conclusion, briefly stated, is the interesting one that though firsthand experience of the West was necessary for the Western writer, Eastern experience was also necessary in order to give him the requisite detachment needed to write about the West successfully. Eastern demands upon the Western writer, however, were such that he could not speak truthfully about the West, but was forced in one way or another to pander to Eastern expectations and to write not about the West itself but about what Easterners expected the West to be. In this series of essays on Lewis and Clark, Timothy Flint and James Hall, Washington Irving and Francis Parkman, Mark Twain, Willa Cather, and Bernard DeVoto, Mr. Lee convincingly demonstrates how each was forced to make a choice between the literary "values" of the East and the honest presentation of the facts of Western life and, sadly, how each chose the East. The controlling image of his book, he says in his beginning chapter, is that of "Western man straddling his vast empire in splendor, yet standing with his back to the West and looking eastward with awe and reverence toward his superannuated past." The idea is an intriguing one, and Mr. Lee is at his best when discussing just how his various subjects made the choice, whether by substituting more correct and elegant diction for the Western idiom (as did Irving and Twain), by using the West only as a romantic backdrop for essentially non-Western concerns (as did Flint and Hall), or, as all did to one degree or another, by telling the East not the truth, but what it wanted to believe was the truth.

One may wonder, though, if the literary record of the American Western movement may safely be judged only by the criterion of realism, and, therefore, whether the merit of Western writers can be justly estimated on the basis of their faithful adherence to Western life. It is at least possible to argue—as Mr. Lee briefly mentions in his last chapter—that fiction about the West has only rarely been concerned with the actual facts of the Western movement. The problem is, simply, that Mr. Lee's thesis seems to depend upon a fairly clear notion of what Western writ-

ing should have in fact been like, and of course this is impossible to state with any certainty *From West to East* needs, in my opinion, a more comprehensive theoretical frame, but the details of the picture it paints are fascinating and clearly drawn

Yale University

JAMES K. FOLSOM

THE AMERICAN WESTERN NOVEL By James K Folsom New Haven, Conn College & University Press [1966] 224 pp \$4.50

Murmuring a little at the "low critical esteem" in which "Westerns" are held (especially in comparison with their natural competitors for popular favor, the detective story and science fiction), James K Folsom sets out on a mild campaign to redress the balance In *The American Western Novel* he uses the terms "Western novel" and "Westerns" almost interchangeably, but it is apparent that his case (insofar as he argues at all) must rest on those novels which have some pretension to being considered as "art" As for the typical charge against Western fiction, namely, that it "falsifies" life, his answer is that Western novels ought not to be tested for penny-realism, in order to be understood, they "must be interpreted in terms of parable"

Exhibits begin with Cooper One need not believe, with Mr Folsom, that "the reputation of the first great American novelist, James Fenimore Cooper, depends today, and has always depended, on his studies of the West" But Cooper *was* one of the first writers of American fiction to deal memorably with the concept of property as well as the nature of law and justice on the frontier Cooper it was also who conferred on the genre such philosophical dignity as it possesses There follows a discussion of the theme of "The Garden of the Lord," with some analysis of threats to its existence, including the precious bane of "civilization" Illustrations here are from Conrad Richter, Edna Ferber, A B Guthrie Full treatment is given to the stereotype of the cowboy—a taciturn, "insightful" man possessed of a skill, a "loner," a man prone on occasion to take the law into his own hands Often his extra-legal moves prove beneficent, as in Owen Wister's *The Virginian*, but vigilante "justice" may go tragically astray, as it does in Walter Clark's *The Ox-Bow Incident* A chapter on "The Vanishing American" pays particular attention to Hamlin Garland's serious study of the Indian and to Zane Grey's fiction, which, although ostensibly concerned with rehabilitating the Indian, in fact exploits and sentimentalizes him to the point of becoming "escape literature of the most insidious kind" A final chapter points up the "agrarian myth" and the disenchantment that lay in wait for people who went West to "grow up with the country"

Many types of characters throng Mr Folsom's pages mountain-men, miners, oil prospectors, horse-traders, "nesters," sheep-grazers, educators, missionaries, miscellaneous "bad-men" All these are united geographically but in virtually no other way Prosperity and euphoria are soon jeopardized by irreconcilable conflicts, paradoxes, ironies Good new ways of life spell the death of good old ways "the right to farm and the right to hunt are mutually incompatible", grazing sheep crop grass too closely for the welfare of cattle, mountain-men lose out to technology Casualties abound as the "right of empire" treads down the "right of soil" and many once-successful enterprises in effect vanish into the sunset Nostalgia is a frequent end product of the Westward expansion—and a prized ingredient in the Western novels which are the stuff of Mr Folsom's book

It is mainly a very good book substantial, organized, documented, persuasive One is slightly disquieted by certain stylistic mannerisms, an occasional solecism, the excessive and loose use of the word "symbolic," and a curious obsession with the phrase "*ubi sunt*" Yet in general Mr Folsom writes a firm-textured prose as he pursues his way zestfully through leagues of selected fiction dealing (mainly) with trans-Mississippi operations from simplest frontier days to the time when it became standard practice to detain a mustang by means of airplane and truck

Wesleyan University

ALEXANDER COWIE

JOHN BUNYAN IN AMERICA By David E Smith Bloomington, Ind  
Indiana University Press [1966] xii, 144 pp \$3 00

David Smith has followed up his admirable article in the *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* (Dec, 1962) on the "Publication of John Bunyan's Works in America" with a monograph on their effect Americans indeed were affected, both by Bunyan's own writing and by books for which *Pilgrim's Progress* served as model Mr Smith's "conservative study," as he describes his work, lies midway between the tradition of essays on "influence" and the present vogue for the examination of myth in metaphors

*John Bunyan in America* is influenced by both schools In an excellently constructed foreword and descriptions of particular imitations of *Pilgrim's Progress* the author shows how Bunyan's exemplar was made to serve nineteenth-century attacks on theological modernism and millennialism Even the antislavery movement drafted the Old Puritan into its ranks From Joseph Morgan's *The Kingdom of Basaruah* (1715) to E E Cummings's *The Enormous Room* (1922) authors have continued to make Bunyan new If books like William R Weeks's *The*

*Pilgrim's Progress in the Nineteenth Century* (1826, enlarged ed., 1849) and the anonymously authored *Pilgrim's Progress in the Last Days* (1843) do not pop alive again at the touch of Mr Smith's wand, they are at least made known to remind us that Hawthorne's "The Celestial Railroad" (1843) was in its own day, as Mr Smith puts it, "no innovation"

The greatest space is given to a discussion of Bunyan's impact on America's prime symbolist. The emphasis is deserved. Hawthorne, for clarification, owned at least two copies of *Pilgrim's Progress*, each possession dating from his childhood. One was the 1817 edition published by Isaiah Thomas, Jr., in Boston, the other is one I have not seen but which was exhibited a few years ago in India by a descendant as the copy which Hawthorne owned from the age of eight. It is perhaps not exact that Hawthorne wandered as a boy through the woods at Raymond, Maine, "*Pilgrim's Progress* in hand," but the book may well have been in mind. Mr Smith would have us believe that he still kept it in mind when he wrote *Fanshawe*, *The Scarlet Letter*, and *The Blithedale Romance*. "The primary importance of 'The Celestial Railroad' as a measure of Hawthorne's own development as a writer," he decides about a tale whose prototype is unquestioned, "is that it gave him the identity of a hero he was to use, with variation, again and again. That hero is not Bunyan's Christian, he is Bunyan's Ignorance, and he strides or falters, in the later romances, along the pathways of a wilderness he scarcely understands." "*The Scarlet Letter*," Mr Smith says in reintroducing this classic, "may be regarded as a legend about the progress of some pilgrims in New England." Mr Smith is not so conservative as he claims, he has an alert mind and he takes chances. His use of both parts of *Pilgrim's Progress* as a magnet for the deeper significances of Hawthorne's fiction is invariably stimulating but not always irresistible.

The decline of the influence of Bunyan came in the aftermath of the Civil War, and was reflected by Huck Finn's comment on *Pilgrim's Progress* that, "The statements was interesting, but tough." They could be tenderized. In a brilliant chapter about *Little Women*, Mr Smith shows how *Pilgrim's Progress* became the rulebook for the game of life for the four March girls on pilgrimage, as their play world became the real world. Nothing better has been written on *Little Women* than Mr Smith's demonstration of how John Bunyan was metamorphosed into Louisa May Alcott.

Yale University

NORMAN HOLMES PEARSON

THE SEACOAST OF BOHEMIA *An Account of Early Carmel* By Franklin Walker San Francisco The Book Club of California 1966 129 pp \$18.00 (to members only)

In June, 1966, Franklin Walker retired from his professorship of English at Mills College. This emeritization, together with the publication of the present volume, justifies a few words of biography. Born in 1900, Walker graduated at the University of Arizona. He then was a Rhodes scholar, and these years of foreign experience were important, making him something of a cosmopolite, and turning him into an indefatigable and highly intelligent traveler, along with his wife Imogene, also a professor of English at Mills. In spite of this European trend, which has always kept him from narrow provincialism, Walker turned to American literature, and its Western aspects, especially in California. He served with the faculties of San Diego State College and the University of Oregon (besides a hitch as major with the U.S. Air Force), and then in 1946 went to Mills. His books include *Frank Norris* (1932), *San Francisco's Literary Frontier* (1939), and *A Literary History of Southern California* (1950). His *Jack London and the Klondike* has recently appeared.

*The Seacoast of Bohemia*, though in comparison with some of Walker's others may be termed minor, continues in his tradition of throwing light upon different areas of the Californian literary development. Its concern is the literary colony at Carmel in the decade before World War I, from "the last day of a sunny June in 1905" when George Sterling went there to scout for a site among the pines "with plans and the money to build a house." Others came to join him in what is, after all, one of the pleasantest places in the world. They sought cheap living, congenial companions, and an uninhibited atmosphere. The very informality of the community makes impossible a formal history, so that the present study is properly subtitled "An Account."

Sterling was not only the first comer, but also "in the long run, the central character." Among the later arrivals were some whose names are probably now forgotten, and one might add, "just as well!" Others are remembered—Mary Austin, for instance, who appears often. Some spent only brief periods in Carmel, but come momentarily alive in the narrative—Jack London, Ambrose Bierce, Joaquin Miller, Sinclair Lewis, and Upton Sinclair.

There was much tapping at typewriters and (alas!) a current saying that the local post office processed the highest poundage of rejected manuscripts of any office in the country. There was the Forest Theatre. There were many parties on the beach and among the pines, resounding

with the pounding of abalone steaks and the chorusing of the Abalone Song. In those simple pre-LSD days the Carmelites were much given to the releases provided by alcohol and heterosexuality.

As with other battles the question may be asked as to what good came of it. Not a great deal, we must confess. The author is wise to make no great claim. The colony, indeed, did not display any informing philosophy, unless a kind of anarchistic individualism can be so termed. The members did not even attain the good life in any deeper sense of the term. Too many of them took the short-cut of suicide.

It petered out. Robinson Jeffers came to live there, but he was ostentatiously never of a colony. Steinbeck was of Salinas and Monterey and would not have been found dead in the Carmel of his time. A little tradition lingers. Even yet, I should imagine, the poundage of rejected manuscripts must give the post office a high rating in the field.

The book is published in an edition of 500 copies, with sale limited to members. The situation, however, is not so bad as it sounds, since some 150 libraries are "members," and the volume is therefore not unavailable. By appearing privately the volume has the advantage of much illustration, which could hardly have been allowed it by a general publisher. The note that this is Publication Number 122 is some indication of the longtime activities of the club.

*The Seacoast of Bohemia* thus results from the fortunate collaboration of two respected institutions of California—the Book Club and Franklin Walker.

*University of California, Berkeley*

GEORGE R. STEWART

BOOK PUBLISHING IN AMERICA. By Charles A. Madison. New York: McGraw-Hill [1966] xiv, 628 pp. \$12.50.

The intent of this book is to provide a history of American book publishing which stresses, in general, "the cultural rather than the pecuniary components of publishing." Therefore the personalities of the publishers, the titles they issued, and publisher-author relationships are discussed, but neither treatment of the economics of publishing nor a study of the comparative growth in classifications and monetary volume is attempted. Even within these guidelines, the project is an ambitious one, as the size of the volume testifies.

Mr. Madison divides his work into four parts: "American Publishing to 1865," "Genteel Publishing in the Gilded Age," "The Commercialization of Literature' 1900-1945," and "Publishing Goes Public 1945-1965." The scope is wide, covering all types of publishing such as trade, scientific, religious, law, encyclopedia, reprint firms, and book clubs.



In all but the first part, each firm or topic has a separate section thereby making the major portion of the book into an unalphabetized file of information. Supplementary matter contains a chronology as well as lists of best sellers, influential books, and the Carey-Thomas Awards.

The plan is good, but the execution is disappointing. It is difficult to determine for whom this book was written. Certainly the general reader is not served by a history that compresses the period before 1865 into forty-three pages and then expands the next century to approximately five hundred pages. Nor will he be captivated by itemizations of scientific textbooks published many years ago or by reading a disjointed narrative. The scholar will find a bibliography referring to books and articles and "several publishing files," but the lack of footnotes makes it often impossible to ascertain the author's sources. Six of twelve quotations checked reveal errors in transcription, there are errors in dates (for example, Mathew Carey arrived in 1784, not 1782, the Lakeside Library was started in 1875, not 1874) and in figures (for example, Bryant's *Poems* [1821] were issued in an edition of 750, not 650, copies of which 270 copies were sold in two, not five, years). There are errors in spelling (examples: Danton for Dunton, Updyke for Updike) and there is incorrect interpretation (Bradley was not the first to use cloth on book covers, he was the first to use cloth for edition binding). Furthermore, although firms which "have contributed little to the history of publishing" are omitted or treated briefly, one should be able to find something about the American Tract Society, Beacon Press, Lee and Shepard, the Limited Editions Club, and the New York Graphic Society, especially when less important firms are mentioned. Finally, the information about each publisher tends to be a miscellany of odds and ends rather than an organized historical account. That a major publisher issues a book at this price without proper care is a reflection upon the firm and a disservice to the author who obviously spent a great amount of time gathering material.

*Boston, Massachusetts*

ROLLO G. SILVER

## BRIEF MENTION

AMERICANA NORVEGICA *Norwegian Contributions to American Studies*  
Volume One Edited by Sigmund Skard and Henry H Wasser  
Philadelphia University of Pennsylvania Press 1966 340 pp \$10 00

*Americana Norvegica* will appear at irregular intervals and contain "shorter contributions to American Studies" Particular attention will be paid to the history of "Norwegian-American interrelations" The inaugural volume is devoted chiefly to American literature and contains the following essays of interest to American specialists in that field "Orestes A Brownson's *New Views*," by Per Sveino, "Hawthorne and the Significance of History," by Johannes Kjørven, "Bartleby the Inscrutable Notes on a Melville Motif," by Otto Reinert, "The Impressionism of Stephen Crane A Study in Style and Technique," by Orm Overland, "E A Robinson 'Eros Turannos' A Critical Survey," by Sigmund Skard, and "The New Deal and American Literature," by Henry H Wasser

ESSAYS ON HISTORY AND LITERATURE Edited by Robert H Bremner  
Columbus, Ohio Ohio State University Press [1966] xi, 190 pp \$5 00

Four essays, originally presented at a conference intended to honor Foster Rhea Dulles, make up this book "The Treachery of Recollection The Inner and the Outer History," by Daniel Aaron, "American Scholarship A Subjective Interpretation of Nineteenth-Century Cultural History," by Edward Lurie, "The Origins of the Gentry," by Stow Persons, and "History and Literature Branches of the Same Tree," by Russel B Nye A very selective bibliography on the use of literature in research in American history, by Margaret E Kahn and George P Schoyer, also appears Mr Aaron readily points out the perils of recording contemporary events and bases his examples on his own experience in dealing with the 1930's Mr Nye's contribution is, as one would expect, a very expert reminder of the similarities and differences which mark the writing of history and of literature History, he concludes, "is an art, perhaps an art trying to be a science, but always an art, whether it succeeds or not" Mr Person's essay frequently levies on literature to outline the nature of the "gentry class," an element in American society which he attempts to rescue from submergence in a "loosely defined upperclass" or "aristocracy" Mr Lurie comes to grips with his topic most successfully when he deals with science His sug-

gestion that "we need a new definition of the American Renaissance," however, will be approved in all quarters

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE AMERICAN SHORT STORY By Fred Lewis Pattee New York Biblio and Tannen 1966 v, 388 pp \$7 50

There is real cause for rejoicing that Pattee's pioneer survey (1923) has been reprinted, for it is still the best general book on its subject and covers the chief writers and trends up to the time of O Henry

LITERARY CULTURE IN EARLY NEW ENGLAND 1620-1730 By Thomas Goddard Wright Edited by His Wife New York Russell and Russell 1966 322 pp \$8 00

A greatly needed reprint of a standard study, first published in 1920

BONIFACIUS *An Essay Upon the Good* By Cotton Mather Edited with an Introduction by David Levin Cambridge, Mass Belknap Press of Harvard University Press 1966 xxxii, 181 pp \$3 95

*Essays to Do Good*, as *Bonifacius* came to be called, is, of course, one of Cotton Mather's chief works and was influential on many others besides Benjamin Franklin Thomas J Holmes noted eighteen editions prior to the publication of his bibliography of Mather in 1940, but Mr Levin's is the only new edition to appear in the present century The Introduction makes clear how this practical treatise on Christian ethics has been misinterpreted The John Harvard Library is to be commended for including this book in the series, for access to Mather's work has been virtually impossible in many college libraries, save for snippets in anthologies

THE PAPERS OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN *Volume 10* Edited by Leonard W Labaree *et al* New Haven, Conn Yale University Press 1966 xxvi, 459 pp \$12 50

The period covered in this volume is January 1, 1762, through December 31, 1763, and the contents consist largely of letters to and from Franklin There are occasional items of special interest to students of literature, e g, Nathaniel Evans's "Verses Addressed to Benjamin Franklin" (pp 422-426), the text here printed being longer than that appearing in Evans's *Poems on Several Occasions* (Philadelphia, 1772)

THE MEMOIR OF JOHN DURANG *American Actor, 1785-1816* Edited by Alan S Downer Pittsburgh University of Pittsburgh Press [1966] xix, 176 pp \$7 00

Durang—dancer, circus performer, and actor—provided a record

of his activities which has previously been printed in part but now appears in complete form. A considerable portion of his activities was centered in Pennsylvania.

THE AMERICAN POETS 1800-1900 Edited by Edwin Cady Glenview, Ill  
Scott, Foresman [1966] iii, 504 pp \$4.95, Paper, \$2.50

This textbook manages to present a body of work by the standard poets but also to filter in a most interesting selection from the work of their contemporaries whose reputations command, for the most part, only historical interest at the moment. As a result, it conveys a better sense of the actual history of American verse during the nineteenth century than any other recent anthology.

REALISM AND NATURALISM IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY AMERICAN LITERATURE By Donald Pizer With a Preface by Harry T. Moore Carbondale and Edwardsville, Ill. Southern Illinois University Press [1966] xv, 176 pp \$4.50

The essays in this book are reprints of articles, but the notes have been brought nearer to date.

SELECTED WRITINGS OF THE AMERICAN TRANSCENDENTALISTS Edited with an Introduction by George Hochfield New York New American Library xxx, 432 pp Paper, \$95

A handy reprint of the views of various individuals, from Dr Channing and Andrews Norton to Jones Very *et al*, enhanced by selections from the *Dial* and materials concerned with Brook Farm.

THE JOURNALS AND MISCELLANEOUS NOTEBOOKS OF RALPH WALDO EMERSON *Volume VI, 1824-1838* Edited by Ralph H. Orth Cambridge, Mass. Belknap Press of Harvard University Press 1966 xxii, 422 pp \$12.00

"Six of the notebooks are collections of quotations, one is a 'memorial' gathering of excerpts from the letters and private papers of Emerson's brother Charles together with Emerson's own reminiscences, another is devoted largely to his translations from Goethe, and one is a pocket notebook filled with lecture notes, financial accounts, and other miscellanea" (Foreword)

A few entries come from a period later than 1838. As Mr. Orth points out, the most important material is the notebooks devoted to quotations, "lustres," as Emerson called them, from his reading. These

quotations, principally of a proverbial order, show a development on Emerson's part in the direction of arrangement by topics and careful indexing

Emerson's chief distinction as a stylist lies in his use of apothegms, the abundance of which makes him one of the most eminent proverb writers in the entire course of English and American literature. Often, he borrowed directly from, or adapted, his sources. Mr Orth's volume provides one of the most valuable tools—if not *the* most valuable—for the study of this aspect of the Sage of Concord. The immense amount of labor devoted to tracking down the quotations is only one of the reasons why Emerson specialists will be profoundly grateful to Mr Orth for his editorial services.

ENGLISH TRAITS By Ralph Waldo Emerson Edited by Howard Mumford Jones Cambridge, Mass. Belknap Press of Harvard University Press 1966 xxvi, 267 pp \$5.00

Mr Jones's Introduction and copious notes (pp 206-255) make this volume, in the John Harvard Library series, by all odds the most useful edition of *English Traits* ever printed.

MELVILLE'S READING *A Check-List of Books Owned and Borrowed* Compiled by Merton M Sealts, Jr Madison, Wis. University of Wisconsin Press 1966 viii, 134 pp \$6.00

This book is a revised and enlarged edition of a study which was first published in the *Harvard Library Bulletin*, later reproduced in off-print. "Its purpose is to set forth the established objective evidence concerning the books Herman Melville owned and borrowed." An essay on "The Records of Melville's Reading" is followed by a check list of "Books Owned and Borrowed" and an analytical index to this check list. Mr Sealts's work has long since proved a boon to researchers dealing with Melville, and this new edition makes it all the more valuable. The volume is illustrated with cuts reproducing pertinent manuscripts and library call slips.

THE ALGERINE CAPTIVE By Royall Tyler With an Introduction by Jack B. Moore Two Volumes in One Gainesville, Fla. Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints 1967 xxiv, 190, xi, 228 pp \$10.00

LETTERS FROM THE WEST By James Hall With an Introduction by John T. Flanagan Gainesville, Fla. Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints 1967 xv, 385 pp \$10.00

TWO BRAHMAN SOURCES OF EMERSON AND THOREAU Edited with an Introduction by William B Stein Gainesville, Fla Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints 1967 xx, viii, 291 pp \$9 00

THE HOME BOOK OF THE PICTURESQUE or *American Scenery, Art, and Literature* Comprising a Series of Essays by Irving, Bryant, Cooper, and Others With an Introduction by Motley F Deakin Gainesville, Fla Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints 1967 [viii], 188 pp \$8 00

These reprints are all of use to scholars, for the originals are exceedingly scarce The "Brahman Sources" are Rammohun Roy's translation of the *Veds* (1832) and William Ward's *A View of the History, Literature, and Mythology of the Hindoos* (1822), Part III, Section XIII

LECTURES ON ART AND POEMS (1850) AND MONALDI (1841) By Washington Allston Facsimile Reproductions With an Introduction by Nathalia Wright Gainesville, Fla Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints 1967 xx, 380, 253 pp \$15 00

Allston's "Lectures on Art" are of considerable consequence to the historian of aesthetics in the U S A, and his position in American letters, though appreciated adequately only by Van Wyck Brooks, is quite sufficient to justify the reprinting of some of his other literary work Several of his paintings, including his portrait of Coleridge, are reproduced as illustrations Miss Wright's Introduction is largely critical in nature

CAVALIER OF OLD SOUTH CAROLINA *William Gilmore Simms's Captain Porgy* Edited with an Introduction by Hugh W Hetherington Chapel Hill, N C University of North Carolina Press [1966] x, 373 pp \$7 50

Selections from seven of Simms's works in which Porgy figures as a character are anthologized, and a lengthy "Reappraisal of Captain Porgy" serves as an introduction (pp 4-74)

MARK TWAIN By Charles Neider New York Horizon [1967] vi, 214 pp \$6 50

Reprints of various essays that originally served as introductions to compilations of Mark Twain's work which Mr Neider has edited, fortified by two new screeds "On Mark Twain Censorship" and "The Notebooks" The former deals with Mr Neider's attempts to persuade Clara Clemens and Harpers to allow publication of certain chapters

from Mark Twain's *Autobiography*, the latter points out the free and easy disposition of manuscripts made by Albert B Paine and comments more generally on some of the contents of the notebook material

JACK LONDON *A Bibliography* Compiled by Hensley C Woodbridge, John London, and George H Tweney Georgetown, Calif Talisman Press 1966 422 pp \$15 00

This is a most useful tool for the study of Jack London's works His books, contributions to magazines and newspapers, etc, are listed, along with a considerable store of translations in various languages and motion pictures based on his tales A second section lists "Writings about London," including theses and a limited number of foreign-language comments Rounding up either London's productions or the discussions of him is a herculean task, and this check list goes a long way toward reaching its goal

BEYOND DEFEAT *An Epilogue to an Era* By Ellen Glasgow Edited with an Introduction by Luther Y Gore Charlottesville, Va University Press of Virginia [1966] xlii, 134 pp \$5 00

A previously unpublished sequel to *In This Our Life* is here presented, along with a carefully prepared Introduction by Mr Gore, who leaves little or nothing to be desired by the scholarly reader

JOSEPH PULITZER AND THE NEW YORK *World* By George Juergens Princeton, NJ Princeton University Press 1966 xvi, 392 pp \$10 00

This monograph, based on the contents of the *World*, undertakes to show how Pulitzer developed in the eighties a phenomenally popular paper by adopting the sensational methods of "yellow" journalism Special chapters are devoted to illustration, sports, the interests of women, "the gospel of wealth," jingoism and anti-intellectualism, the immigrant, the poor, and the laboring class

A COMPREHENSIVE INDEX OF POET LORE *Volumes 1-58 1889-1963* Compiled by Alice Very With an Introduction by Melvin H Bernstein Boston Branden Press [1966] 261 pp \$27 50

An author-title index of a magazine which is of considerable value for the history of verse and drama in the U S

THE SMART SET *A History and Anthology* By Carl R Dolmetsch  
With an Introductory Reminiscence by S N Behrman New York  
Dial Press 1966 xxv, 262 pp \$17 50

The first section of this book deals with the history of the *Smart Set* up to the time of its sale to Hearst in 1924 The chief audience sought, however, is "the casual reader" The material anthologized is principally the work of well-known authors

ECHOES OF REVOLT *The Masses 1911-1917* Edited by William L O'Neill  
With an Introduction by Irving Howe and an Afterword by Max  
Eastman Chicago Quadrangle Books [1966] 303 pp \$12 95

The old *Masses* was the medium of expression for a brilliant group of literary men and artists as well as an organ of the class struggle This handsome folio contains selections from the literary, artistic, and social materials which it published Mr Eastman reflects on his experiences as editor of the periodical, Mr Howe provides a neat preliminary appraisal, and Mr O'Neill answers the obvious questions in his editorial remarks

ERNEST HEMINGWAY *A Critical Essay* By Nathan A Scott, Jr Grand  
Rapids, Mich William B Eerdmans [1966] 46 pp Paper, \$85

This pamphlet, written by a priest of the Episcopal church, is one of a continuing series on "Contemporary Writers in Christian Perspective," edited by Roderick Jellema

FAULKNER *A Collection of Critical Essays* Edited by Robert Penn  
Warren Englewood Cliffs, NJ Prentice-Hall [1966] 311 pp  
\$4 95, Paper, \$2 45

Fatter than the usual volumes in the series of "Twentieth Century Views," this anthology reprints a variety of essays on Faulkner, with a liberal selection of the screeds written by the editor's friends and colleagues In an appendix appear shorter selections or condensations Of chief value is Mr Warren's Introduction, in which he presents "local and personal testimony" to the influence of Faulkner's fiction and provides his own estimate

SOUTHERN WRITING IN THE SIXTIES *Fiction* Edited by John W Corring  
ton and Miller Williams Baton Rouge, La Louisiana State Uni  
versity Press [1966] xxiv, 256 pp \$7 50, Paper, \$2 95

Twenty short stories or excerpts from novels illustrate the work of recent Southern authors such as Reynolds Price, Guy Owen, Fred



Chappell, Charles East, Sylvia Wilkinson, and Ernest J. Gaines. The editors, both members of the English Department of Loyola University in New Orleans and both creative writers as well as critics, attempt in their Introduction to indicate characteristics of "Southern writing" which give a certain homogeneity to the literary products emanating from the region.

PAUL ELMER MORE By Francis X. Duggan New York Twayne Publishers [1966] 174 pp \$3.95

ROBERT FROST By Philip L. Gerber New York Twayne Publishers [1966] 192 pp \$3.95

MARY MCCARTHY By Barbara McKenzie New York Twayne Publishers [1966] 191 pp \$3.95

BERNARD MALAMUD By Sidney Richman New York Twayne Publishers [1966] 160 pp \$3.95

ERNEST POOLE By Truman Frederick Keefer New York Twayne Publishers [1966] 192 pp \$3.95

Messrs. Richman and Duggan and Miss McKenzie devote most of their pages to analysis of the writings of their subjects. Perhaps the most useful chapter of the book on Frost is Mr. Gerber's summary of the poet's major themes, which is coherent and clear-cut. Mr. Keefer, in his study of Poole, attempts to rescue from oblivion two substantial novels, *With Eastern Eyes* and *The Destroyer*, which have been all but lost in the concentration of critical interest on Poole's vastly popular story of social problems, *The Harbor*.

It may be parenthetically noted that all the volumes in the Twayne series appear later in paper covers, issued by the College and University Press of New Haven, Connecticut.

THE JAPANESE TRADITION IN BRITISH AND AMERICAN LITERATURE By Earl Miner Princeton, NJ Princeton University Press [1966] xxxi, 312 pp Paper, \$2.95

This book is still the best general treatment of its topic. A few changes have been made in the text of the 1958 edition, but a new preface updates the original bibliography to a limited extent.

IMAGES OF THE NÈGRO IN AMERICAN LITERATURE Edited by Seymour L. Gross and John Edward Hardy Chicago University of Chicago Press [1966] 321 pp \$6.50

A collection of reprints of articles, etc., whose general value is

damaged by the inclusion of an example of pretentious nonsense from the pen of Leslie Fiedler, but redeemed by a valuable Introduction and a check list of criticism and scholarship on the Negro in American literature, both done by Mr Gross

*A Wisconsin Harvest* Edited with an Introduction by August Derleth  
Sauk City, Wis Stanton & Lee 1966 xv, 338 pp \$5 00

An interesting anthology of work by members of the Wisconsin Regional Writers' Association

THE DEATH OF TINKER BELL *The American Theatre in the 20th Century*  
By Joseph Golden Syracuse, NY Syracuse University Press [1967]  
ix, 181 pp \$5 00

Informal lectures on a number of playwrights and the problems of the contemporary stage

PATRONS AND PATRIOTISM *The Encouragement of the Fine Arts in the United States 1790-1860* By Lillian B Miller Chicago University of Chicago Press [1966] xv, 335 pp \$8 50

After an introductory chapter on "The Nationalist Apologia" and brief surveys of the ideas of Emerson, Ruskin, and Charles Eliot Norton anent the fine arts and their place in society, discussions follow of the relations of the federal government and of various politicians to the encouragement of, or the commissioning of, art, of the community efforts to organize societies and museums in New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Charleston, and Baltimore, and of patrons and their taste A chapter on "Art in the West" and another on "Art and Nationality" round out the book The study is limited to painting and sculpture

AMERICA'S MUSIC *From the Pilgrims to the Present* By Gilbert Chase  
Revised Second Edition New York McGraw-Hill [1966] xxi, 759 pp \$9 95

This new edition of a standard work drops a chapter on "Indian Tribal Music," but adds a section on the music of the 1960's Among other changes are a considerable revision of the discussions of jazz and of experimental music and an updating of the bibliography Less conventional than the similar book by John Tasker Howard, Mr Chase's history complements it in both factual contents and critical opinion, with the result that the surveys of both men are essential to the student who seeks out the best general books on the subject

THE AMERICAN COMPOSER SPEAKS *A Historical Anthology, 1770-1965*  
 Edited by Gilbert Chase Baton Rouge, La Louisiana State University Press [1966] xii, 318 pp \$7 50

"A representative selection of writings by American composers from Billings to Brown, from the early New England singing school masters to the avant-garde of the 1960's"

THE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF JAZZ IN THE SIXTIES By Leonard Feather With a Foreword by John Lewis New York Horizon [1967] 312 pp \$15 00

Like its predecessors, Mr Feather's new compilation consists largely of biographical sketches of performers and composers, etc—I,100 all told The bibliography lists books concerned with jazz published in the US during the 1960's "and still generally available"

A TOWER IN BABEL *A History of Broadcasting in the United States Volume 1—to 1933* By Erik Barnouw New York Oxford University Press 1966 344 pp \$8 50

This is the initial volume of a chronicle of broadcasting in the US It describes the earliest ventures in the medium and carries on to the first inauguration of F D Roosevelt in 1933 The presentation of the facts is a bit disjointed, but the author has had access to the oral history collection of Columbia University, which contains a remarkable store of information on his subject

THE AMERICAN HERITAGE PICTORIAL ATLAS OF UNITED STATES HISTORY By the Editors of *American Heritage* New York McGraw-Hill [1966] 424 pp \$16 50

While it is no substitute for Paullin, this atlas will prove useful to scholars as well as the general reader for whom it is designed The 210 new maps range from the "Ice Age" to the "Jet Age," and a portfolio of relief maps of the National Parks rounds out the collection The index runs from page 370 to page 424

THE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF AMERICAN FACTS AND DATES Edited by Gorton Caruth and Associates Fourth Edition New York Crowell [1966] 821 pp \$7 95

This new edition of a very handy compilation integrates new entries through 1965 and follows the excellent pattern established in the earlier

editions Literature, drama, painting, architecture, popular entertainment, and sports are filtered into the chronological listing of events, as well as politics, economics, and vital statistics, science, etc The general index covers subjects as well as names

THE PRACTICE OF MODERN LITERARY SCHOLARSHIP Edited by Sheldon P Zitner Glenview, Ill Scott, Foresman xxiv, 392 pp Paper, \$4.25

Reprints of various materials having to do with methodology and problems connected with research and criticism in English and American literature are here collected to provide a textbook for advanced students Textual problems and Renaissance literature loom large in the contents

## RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

### I DISSERTATIONS ON INDIVIDUAL AUTHORS

- The "Sense of a Sense" of Belonging in the Later Works of Willa Cather Jeanette Danielson (Bowling Green)  
A Critical Study of the Works of Walter Van Tilburg Clark James E Fitzmaurice (Maryland)  
Die künstlerische Gestaltung der Staats- und Gesellschaftskritik J F Coopers in den 'Littlepage'-Romanen Siegfried Singer (Philippis-Universität)  
Universality in the Fiction of Sarah Orne Jewett Robert L Hom (Wisconsin)  
Poe and the Sublime Rhoda Piner (Tennessee)  
Benjamin Youngs Prime (1733-1791) A Biographical and Critical Study, with Selected Poems C Webster Wheelock (Princeton)

### II DISSERTATIONS ON TOPICS OF A GENERAL NATURE

- The Image of the Physician in Twentieth-Century American Literature Carolyn B Norris (Maryland)  
Scottish Common-Sense Philosophy in New England Transcendentalism J Edward Schamberger (Pennsylvania)

### III DISSERTATIONS COMPLETED

- Li'l Abner An American Satire Arthur A Berger (Minnesota, 1965)  
Edgar Allan Poe and Transcendentalism Conflict and Affinity Ottavio M Casale (Michigan, 1965)  
Ridgeley Torrence A Literary Biography John M Clum (Princeton, 1966)  
The Novels of T S Stribling A Socio-Literary Study Wilton E Eckley (Western Reserve, 1965)  
The Disenchanted Garden A Study of the Major Fiction of James Branch Cabell's *The Biography of the Life of Manuel* Larry H Gibson (Oregon, 1965)  
Contemporary American Opinion of the American Politician since 1900 Francis J Henninger (Pennsylvania, 1965)  
American Myth and Existential Vision The Indigenous Existentialism of Mailer, Bellow, Styron, and Ellison Samuel H Hux (Connecticut, 1965)

- James Cheetham Journalist and Muckraker Lawrence M Lasher  
(Maryland, 1965)
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(George Peabody, 1965)
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Sister Mary Paul Mazzorana, O.S.F. (Catholic University, 1965)
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Test of God Francis J Molson (Notre Dame, 1965)
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- Mencken and Nathan Herbert M Simpson (Maryland, 1965)
- Walt Whitman—Poet of Lamarckian Evolution James T F Tan-  
ner (Texas Technological College, 1965)
- Romance, Structure and Melville's Use of Demonology and Witch-  
craft in *Moby-Dick* Helen P Trimpf (Harvard, 1966)

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A key to the periodical symbols and abbreviations may be found following page 143 of the March, 1967, issue of *American Literature*

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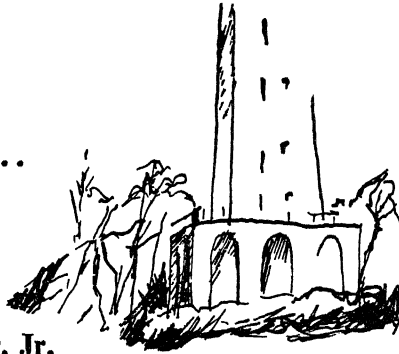
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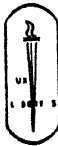
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# Redburn *and the Failure of Mythic Criticism*

JAMES SCHROETER  
*Illinois Institute of Technology*

THE USUAL CRITICAL OPINION OF *Redburn* is that it is a gloomy book. Some recent critics, including William Gilman and Edward Rosenberry, have pointed out comic elements in it, and when the book first appeared it was praised mainly for its "freshness" and "humor." But ever since the Melville revival of the twenties, the critics, perhaps because they were trying to stress that the book ought to be taken seriously, have been calling it a "dark" book, a "bitter" book, a self-pitying book, a tragedy of some kind, or a reflection of Melville's own misery.<sup>1</sup> Commenting on the period when Melville was composing it, Lewis Mumford observes

Now, for the first time, Melville is conscious of the black maggot within him, deposited as a mere egg in his youth, and growing day by day, nourished by his later disappointments, sorrows, frustrations. Things have begun to go badly—he thinks back without difficulty to times when they were even worse. The physical misery of those early years, the patched clothes, the bad food, the rough treatment of the sailors, the feeling of homelessness, the consciousness of being an Ishmael—all these experiences tallied point by point with the world outside, its cruelty, its misery, its sordidness and vice.<sup>2</sup>

Similarly, F. O. Matthiessen says that both *Redburn* and *White-jacket* "reveal that the actual sufferings of mankind had been so impressed upon [Melville's] consciousness that none of the optimistic palliatives or compensations of his age could ever explain them away. As was the case with Keats, the miseries of this world became misery for him, and would not let him rest."<sup>3</sup> Newton Arvin writes "Blows and hard words are mostly Redburn's lot on the

<sup>1</sup> Edward H. Rosenberry, *Melville and the Comic Spirit* (Cambridge, Mass., 1955); William Gilman, *Melville's Early Life and Redburn* (New York, 1951), pp. 227-230. A summary of the early reviewers and their comments on the humor is contained in Gilman, Appendix D, "The Reputation of *Redburn*," pp. 274-281.

<sup>2</sup> Lewis Mumford, *Herman Melville: A Study of His Life and Vision*, rev. ed. (New York, 1962), p. 72. (The book originally appeared in 1929.)

<sup>3</sup> F. O. Matthiessen, *American Renaissance: Art and Expression in the Age of Emerson and Whitman* (New York, 1941), p. 396.

*Highlander*, yet he suffers not only from the inhumanity of men but from the spectacle of their depravity generally"<sup>4</sup>

## I

Despite the general stress on the gloomy tone of the book, there have been two critical methods of interpreting it, two radically different frameworks into which critics have tried to fit it. The first, which might be called the biographical framework, is most clearly represented in the books on Melville written in the twenties by Raymond Weaver, John Freeman, and Lewis Mumford. "In *Redburn*, Melville went back to his youth and traced his feelings about life and his experience up to his eighteenth year," says Mumford. "The book is autobiography, with only the faintest disguises. Bleeker Street becomes Greenwich Street, and the other changes are of a similar order."<sup>5</sup>

The last major reading of *Redburn* as autobiography was William Gilman's *Melville's Early Life and Redburn* (1951), which delivered, or was intended to deliver, the death blow to the biographical school by demonstrating painstakingly that the book is not "autobiography, with only the faintest disguises." But in any event the biographical mode of reading *Redburn* was already dying at the time Gilman's book appeared, a victim of widespread changes in the fashions of literary criticism and of a shift away from the biographical method of reading Melville. By about 1950, a second method, which might be called the "mythic" method, had already taken root, the most influential instance of it being an interpretation in Newton Arvin's *Herman Melville*.

Arvin's main point is his statement of what he takes to be *Redburn's* "inward subject"

The outward subject of the book is a young boy's first voyage as a sailor before the mast, its inward subject is the initiation of innocence into evil—the opening of the guileless spirit to the discovery of "the wrong," as James would say, "to the knowledge of it, to the crude experience of it." The subject is a permanent one for literature, of course, but it has also a peculiarly American dimension, and in just this sense, not in any other, *Redburn* looks backward to a book like Brockden Brown's *Ormond* as well as forward to *The Marble Faun* and to so much of James himself

<sup>4</sup> Newton Arvin, *Herman Melville* (New York, 1950), p. 104

<sup>5</sup> Mumford, p. 71

Wellingborough Redburn sets out from his mother's house in a state of innocence like that before the Fall, a state like that of Brown's Constantia Dudley or James's Maisie Farange, but he has hardly gone a mile from home before the world's wickedness and hardness begin to strip themselves before him. Man, Redburn quickly finds, is a wolf to man.<sup>6</sup>

The point that *Redburn* is concerned in some way with "the initiation of innocence into evil" is too fundamental to have escaped detection. For instance Matthiessen had noted in 1941 that "the account of Redburn's first voyage is a study of disillusion, of innocence confronted with the world, of ideals shattered by facts."<sup>7</sup> But Arvin was the first critic who attempted in a unified way to substitute the "initiation" theme for the autobiographical one as a broad pattern into which details of character, incident, and symbol could be fitted.

Arvin does this by selecting a number of more or less vivid details for symbolic interpretation—the character Jackson, "the first of Melville's full-length studies of 'depravity according to nature,'" and a figure on whom, according to Arvin, all the "accumulated evil . . . is focused so concentratedly" as to "raise him to something like heroic stature", Melville's "wonderful series of Hogarthian evocations" of Liverpool, which Arvin takes to be Melville's "symbol of human iniquity", the London chapter concerned with "Aladdin's Palace," which Arvin identifies as "the opulent counterpart of the 'reeking' and 'Sodom-like' dens in Liverpool, where Redburn's shipmates indulge their squalid vices", the imagery of "disease, disaster and death," especially the dead sailor who is thrown overboard and the suicide of the drunken sailor, which Arvin takes to be part of the "metaphor of death and rebirth, of the passage from childhood and innocence", a series of humble "anti-romantic" or "shrunkened" symbols—the glass ship, the guidebook to Liverpool, Redburn's moleskin shooting jacket, and the shipboard epidemic among the immigrants, which Arvin calls "the symbolism of plague and pestilence that had been or was to prove so expressive for a long series of writers from Defoe and Poe to Thomas Mann."<sup>8</sup> The point, in other words, that Arvin seems to be striving

<sup>6</sup> Arvin, p. 103.

<sup>7</sup> Matthiessen, p. 396.

<sup>8</sup> Arvin, pp. 104-109.

to make is that practically the whole of Redburn's experience with the outside world is with various guises of horror, death, and depravity

Although clearly Arvin selected the features and stressed the symbolic horror in the way he did, even at the risk of appearing to strain and exaggerate slightly, because he wanted to lend substance to his "initiation" theory, his points seem to have been a guide to subsequent critics. For instance, Ronald Mason, whose study of Melville appeared the year after Arvin's, takes up the guidebook, the glass ship, the violent deaths, the Liverpool slums, and Jackson, whom he describes as "personified iniquity"<sup>9</sup> R W B Lewis takes up the epidemic, the guidebook, Jackson—who "reveals to Redburn the power of the scabrous," and Liverpool and its "stench of corruption"<sup>10</sup> Harry Levin, in *The Power of Blackness*, confines himself mainly to Jackson and Liverpool.<sup>11</sup> But the important point is that Arvin's central idea, that the real subject of *Redburn* is the "initiation of innocence into evil," has formed a main tenet—perhaps the main tenet—of *Redburn* criticism since about 1950. Two independent studies, James E. Miller's "*Redburn* and *Whitejacket*: Initiation and Baptism" (1959) and Heinz Kosok's "A Sadder and a Wiser Boy: Herman Melville's *Redburn* as a Novel of Initiation" (1965), adopt the initiation idea as a framework, and much of the incidental comment on *Redburn* either explicitly or implicitly accepts the initiation idea in much the way earlier critics once accepted the idea that *Redburn* was autobiography.<sup>12</sup> "In *Redburn* (1849), the Adamic coloration of the experience which most interested Melville became explicit," according to R W B Lewis. "This has been remarked by Melville's best commentator, Newton Arvin, who observes that the boy-hero of the novel 'sets out from his mother's house in a state of innocence like that before the fall', and the voyage to Liver-

<sup>9</sup> Ronald Mason, *The Spirit Above the Dust: A Study of Herman Melville* (London, 1951), pp. 71-78.

<sup>10</sup> R W B Lewis, *The American Adam* (Chicago, 1953), pp. 136-138.

<sup>11</sup> Harry Levin, *The Power of Blackness* (New York, 1958), pp. 178-180.

<sup>12</sup> James E. Miller, "Redburn and Whitejacket: Initiation and Baptism," *Nineteenth Century Fiction* XIII, 273-293 (March, 1959). Heinz Kosok, "A Sadder and a Wiser Boy: Herman Melville's *Redburn* as Novel of Initiation," *Jahrbuch für Amerikastudien*, X, 126-152 (1965). Other critics who refer to *Redburn* as a novel of "initiation" include Robert Spiller, Merlin Bowen, Ronald Mason, and R W B Lewis.

pool and back comprises for young Redburn 'the initiation of innocence into evil'."<sup>13</sup>

The "mythic" interpretation of *Redburn* first appeared about the time that a wave of books which either argued for, or explicitly applied, a mythic method to the interpretation of American literature was gathering strength—for instance, Richard Chase's *Herman Melville* (1949), Chase's *Quest for Myth* (1949), and Henry Nash Smith's *Virgin Land The American West as Symbol and Myth* (1950). These were followed by R. W. B. Lewis's *The American Adam* (1955), and after that a deluge of studies which reinterpreted Irving, Cooper, Hawthorne, Twain, James, Faulkner, and Hemingway in the light of mythic quests and patterns. In other words the reinterpretation of *Redburn* which has been going on for the past fifteen years must be seen in the context of a broad critical movement and as a contribution to the movement, much in the way that the biographical books on Melville by Weaver, Freeman, and Mumford were a contribution to the biographical method of the twenties—the style represented by Van Wyck Brooks's *The Ordeal of Mark Twain* or Joseph Wood Krutch's book on Poe. But the difficulty with the mythic method, certainly as applied to *Redburn*, is that, like the biographical method, it does not hold up—that it is contradicted repeatedly by some of the most important tonal and structural features of the novel.

## II

Melville's tone, the peculiar quality of Redburn's narrative voice, presents the most obvious barrier to the "tragic fall" theory, especially Redburn's voice in the passages which are most clearly "initiatory," and in which Redburn is most obviously "innocent." This, for instance, is Redburn's response when he is first initiated into shipboard blasphemy:

At that time I did not know what to make of these sailors, but this much I thought, that when they were boys they could never have gone to the Sunday School, for they swore so, it made my ears tingle, and used words that I never could hear without a dreadful loathing.<sup>14</sup>

Later, the Greenlander sailor urges Redburn to drink Jamaica spirits, and Redburn reflects

<sup>13</sup> Lewis, p. 136

<sup>14</sup> Herman Melville, *Redburn His First Voyage* (New York, 1957), pp. 31-32

But I felt very little like doing as I was bid, for I had some scruples about drinking spirits, and to tell the plain truth, for I am not ashamed of it, I was a member of a society in the village where my mother lived, called the Juvenile Total Abstinence Association, of which my friend, Tom Legare, was president, secretary and treasurer, and kept the funds in a little purse that his cousin knit for him. There was three and six-pence on hand, I believe, the last time he brought in his accounts<sup>15</sup>

A few pages later, there is a smoking party, and a sailor named Ned offers Redburn a cigar. Redburn reflects

But I was a member of an Anti-Smoking Society that has been organized in our village by the Principal of the Sunday School there, in conjunction with the Temperance Association. So I did not smoke any then, though I did afterward upon the voyage, I am sorry to say.<sup>16</sup>

Redburn's response to the trio of conventional sailor's vices—smoking, drinking, swearing—depends for the effectiveness of its comedy not only on Redburn's absurdly naive Sunday school morality but upon the ironic tone, which in turn depends on the separation Melville maintains between himself and his narrator. Clemens was later to handle this device for humor in a more controlled manner in *Huckleberry Finn*, in which the vices of men are also reflected with comic irony through the eyes of a naive boy, but *Redburn* shows the first sustained use of the device in the American novel.

It can be seen in a more important way in Redburn's initiation into the ship's hierarchy, brought out in his abortive attempts to establish friendly relations first with the men, then with the mates, and finally with the captain.

Thinking to make friends with the second mate, I took out an old tortoise-shell snuff-box of my father's, in which I had put a piece of Cavendish tobacco, to look sailor-like, and offered the box to him very politely. He stared at me a moment, and then exclaimed, "Do you think we take snuff aboard here, youngster? no, no, no time for snuff-taking at sea, don't let the 'old man' see that snuff-box, take my advice and pitch it overboard as quick as you can."

I told him it was not snuff, but tobacco, when he said, he had plenty of tobacco of his own, and never carried any such nonsense about him as

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 40

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.* p. 44

a tobacco-box With that, he went off about his business, and left me feeling foolish enough<sup>17</sup>

One entire chapter, "He Contemplates Making a Social Call on the Captain in His Cabin," is devoted to Redburn's attempt to establish friendship with the captain It begins with his naive speculations about the captain

I had thought him a fine, funny gentleman, full of mirth and good humor, and good will to seamen, and one who could not fail to appreciate the difference between me and the rude sailors among whom I was thrown Indeed, I had made no doubt that he would in some special manner take me under his protection, and prove a kind friend and benefactor to me, as I had heard that some sea-captains are Yes, I thought that Captain Riga would be attentive and considerate to me, and strive to cheer me up and comfort me in my lonesomeness<sup>18</sup>

To prepare himself for making "the first advances," he gets himself up in what he thinks is fitting dress "I put on a white shirt in place of my red one, and got into a pair of cloth trowsers instead of my duck ones, and put on my new pumps, and then carefully brushing my shooting jacket, I put that on over all, so that upon the whole, I made quite a genteel figure" His hands are stained deep yellow from tar, and thinking "it would never do to present myself before a gentleman in that way," he slips on a pair of woolen mittens his mother has knitted for him Dressed in that fashion, he plans to "drop into the captain's cabin" to pay his respects<sup>19</sup>

What is most interesting about the chapter devoted to the social call is that it never takes place The chief mate collars Redburn on his way to the cabin, and "shoved me forward, roaring out I know not what," while the sailors, standing around the windlass, look aft "mightily tickled" Instead, Melville focuses on Redburn's dreams of the treatment he will receive from the captain—"that he would invite me down into the cabin of a pleasant night, to ask me questions concerning my parents, and prospects in life, besides obtaining from me some anecdotes touching my great-uncle, the illustrious senator, or give me a slate and pencil, and teach me problems in navigation, or perhaps engage me at a game of chess", on

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid*, p 25

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid* p 65

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid*, pp 65 67



Redburn's elaborate attempts to get himself up in genteel costume, and the merriment of the crew. Possibly Melville aborted the actual scene because his imagination boggled at the prospect of a boy such as Redburn, dressed in shooting jacket, pumps, and woollen mittens, "dropping in" on the captain. But what is more likely is that Melville softened the climax, deliberately substituting an anti-climax, because, despite all that critics have had to say about the "cruelty" and "hardship" of Redburn's lot on the *Highlander*, Melville sees clearly enough that showing Redburn as the butt of the most crushing and serious humiliations and insults does not fit the larger purposes of the novel.

The imaginative situation of a human, personal confrontation between captain and "boy," between captain and crewman, or in general between superior and inferior was to be touched on with complexity and power in the later Melville—in *Moby-Dick*, "Bartleby," "Benito Cereno," and *Billy Budd*. Such a scene, passed over reverently, forms the crux of *Billy Budd*—the scene between Captain Vere and Billy, which Melville likens to the scene between Abraham and Isaac. In such passages in the later Melville—between Pip and Ahab, between the lawyer and Bartleby, or in quite a different way between the aristocratic Benito Cereno and the slave Babo—Melville suggests that the conventional barrier society interposes between men of differing social stations is in some way terrible, ludicrous, irrational—but capable of being overstepped. The conventional hierarchical arrangement breaks down, much as in Tolstoy's "Master and Man," into an elemental love-hate relationship between two human beings. The "mastery" is subtly reversed, translated by hate in the Benito-Babo relationship, or love in the Pip-Ahab relationship. No transformation of this kind takes place in *Redburn*, partly because Melville is as much concerned with holding up to view the absurdity of Redburn's ignorance of conventional usage as the absurdity of the convention.

The passages in which Melville's ironically comic tone is perhaps most beautifully modulated are the ones concerning Redburn's clothing. A number of critics—Newton Arvin, James Miller—have commented on the fact that Melville raises the clothing, especially the shooting jacket, to poetic or symbolic status. But Arvin's comment that "old, cheap and ill-fitting clothes" are a "natural meta-

phor" for the "insulted and injured," or that "Redburn's shooting jacket puts one in mind of that other shabby garment, the old clerk's overcoat in Gogol's famous tale," seems—much like Lewis Mumford's sentimental comment about Melville-Redburn's "patched clothes" and "bad food"—wholly to miss the dignity and complexity of Melville's comedy<sup>20</sup>

Melville focuses mainly on three "patched" or "maimed" items of clothing—Redburn's boots, his pantaloons, and his shooting jacket. The boots are described as follows:

Nor must I forget my boots, which were almost new when I left home. They had been my Sunday boots, and fitted me to a charm. I never had had a pair of boots that I liked better, I used to turn my toes out when I walked in them, unless it was night time, when no one could see me, and I had something else to think of, and I used to keep looking at them during church, so that I lost a good deal of the sermon. In a word, they were a beautiful pair of boots. But all this only unfitted them the more for sea-service, as I soon discovered. They had very high heels, which were all the time tripping me in the rigging, and several times came near pitching me overboard, and the salt water made them shrink in such a manner, that they pinched me terribly about the instep, and I was obliged to gash them cruelly, which went to my very heart. The legs were quite long, coming a good way up towards the knees, and the edges were mounted with red morocco. The sailors used to call them my "gaff-topsail-boots." And sometimes they used to call me "Boots" and sometimes "Buttons" on account of the ornaments.

At last I took their advice and "razeed" them, as they phrased it. That is, I amputated the legs, and shaved off the heels to the bare soles, which, however did not much improve them, for it made my feet feel flat as flounders, and besides, brought me down in the world.<sup>21</sup>

Redburn's magnificent moleskin hunting jacket is also "altered" or "maimed" in a similar way:

Every day it grew smaller and smaller, particularly after a rain, until at last I thought it would completely exhale, and leave nothing but the bare seams, by way of a skeleton, on my back. It became unspeakably unpleasant when we got into rather cold weather, crossing the Banks of Newfoundland, when the only way I had to keep warm during the night was to pull on my waistcoat and my roundabout, and then clap the

<sup>20</sup> Arvin, p. 109.

<sup>21</sup> *Redburn*, pp. 71-72.

shooting-jacket over all. This made it pinch me under the arms, and it vexed and irritated and tormented me every way, and used to incommode my arms seriously when I was pulling the ropes, so much so, that the mate asked me once if I had the cramp<sup>22</sup>

Redburn focuses mainly, however, on the most maimed item, the pantaloons

I had them made to order by our village tailor, a little fat man, very thin in the legs, who used to say he imported the latest fashions direct from Paris, though all the fashion plates in his shop were very dirty with fly-marks

Well, this tailor made the pantaloons I speak of, and while he had them in hand, I used to call and see him two or three times a day to try them on, and hurry him forward, for he was an old man with large round spectacles, and could not see very well, and had no one to help him but a sick wife, with five grandchildren to take care of. Now, this old tailor had shown me the pattern, after which he intended to make my pantaloons, but I improved upon it, and bade him make a slit on the outside of each leg, at the foot, to button up with a row of six brass bell buttons, for a grown-up cousin of mine, who was a great sportsman used to wear a beautiful pair of pantaloons, made precisely in that way

And these were the very pair I now had at sea, the sailors made a great deal of fun of them, and were all the time calling on each other to "twig" them, and they would ask me to lend them a button or two, by way of a joke, and then they would ask me if I was not a soldier. Showing very plainly that they had no idea that my pantaloons were a very genteel pair, made in the height of the sporting fashion, and copied from my cousin's, who was a young man of fortune and drove a tilbury<sup>23</sup>

This is Redburn's account of how these beautiful and elegant pantaloons come to be patched and maimed

When I went aloft, at my yard-arm gymnastics, my pantaloons were all the time ripping and splitting in every direction, particularly about the seams, owing to their not being cut sailor-fashion, with low waistbands, and to wear without suspenders. So that I was often placed in most unpleasant predicaments, straddling the rigging, sometimes in plain sight of the cabin, with my table linen exposed in the most inelegant and ungentlemanly manner possible<sup>24</sup>

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid*, p. 72

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 70-71

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid*, p. 70

The point of producing these passages is not merely to show that gloomy *Redburn* has its comedy—although this point alone seems in need of being stressed as much as possible. The point is rather to show *why* there is comedy—that it is not simply an element Melville added here and there for relieving the gloom, or, as William Gilman concludes, for “offsetting the prevailing tone of somberness.” Instead, the comic tone seems to stem from the structure of the book, and to be a necessary part of the conception. The passages in which Redburn is introduced to smoking, drinking, and swearing seem to be based on Melville’s analysis of the conventional sailor’s vices. The passages in which Redburn tries to make friends first with the men, then with the mates, and finally the captain stem from Melville’s analysis of the ship’s social hierarchy. Similarly, the other “initiatory” passages—in which Redburn is introduced to shipboard language, shipboard eating habits, clothing, use of leisure, manners, superstitions—are arranged in a series, as though Melville had worked from an outline in which he divided shipboard language from shipboard customs, and then subdivided these into finer, discrete parts. This technique, which is a general characteristic of Melville’s writing, was noted in the thirties by R. P. Blackmur, who observed that Melville tended to work from an intellectual scheme rather than from a dramatic or story conception, and who aptly dubbed this the “technique of putative statement.” Melville’s presentation of shipboard and English life in *Redburn* is organized, in other words, much as the materials are organized in *Typee* or *Omoo*, in which the novelist devotes so many passages to Polynesian religion, language, social habits, use of leisure, or, in *Moby-Dick*, in the “cetological” portions, or the chapters dealing with the social hierarchy of a whaler.

The vividness of these “putative” sections of *Redburn* are based on the sharpness of the incongruity between Melville’s scenes and Melville’s narrator—between Redburn’s genteel dress, language, customs, and expectations, and those of the people he comes in contact with. But the irony, complexity, and comedy depend on the fact that Melville himself takes a quite independent and detached stance in portraying the conflict, especially when he is working most successfully, removed on the one hand from the narrow gentility of his narrator and on the other from the crudities of shipboard life.

The "Adamic" pattern into which modern critics have rather clumsily been trying to fit *Redburn* requires a prelapsarian hero like Billy Budd or Hawthorne's Donatello—a "natural" man who is uncontaminated by society and its institutions. But the humor in *Redburn* depends on the fact that the hero is not a "guileless spirit," certainly not a Billy Budd or Donatello. His mother's village, with its Sunday School, Anti-Smoking Society, Juvenile Total Temperance Association, and cousin who drives a tilbury, is not an Eden nor a Monte Beni. Nor does Redburn "set out from his mother's house in a state of innocence like that before the Fall," as Arvin and Lewis claim. On the contrary, he sets out from his mother's house as a "Son-of-a-Gentleman," with the catalogue of social attitudes, prejudices, and minor vices that this estate implies—snobbery, exaggerated piety, smugness, priggishness, narrowness. Most important, the mythic Adamic pattern is a tragic pattern, it is a "Fall." But Melville does everything in his power to make clear that Redburn's transition from "Son-of-a-Gentleman" to "Sailor Boy" is not a "fall"—that the gentleman's estate is less rather than more blessed than the deracinated estate of the classless voyager at which Redburn, after completing his initiation, finally arrives.

The fall of Adam might be called an archetypal myth, "archetypal" in the grand sense used by Northrop Frye and other mid-twentieth-century critics who suppose that such archetypes have always secretly but powerfully influenced the imagination, yet it is doubtful whether Melville was writing myth in even the local sense of "myth" which obviously influenced the nineteenth-century storyteller. Many novels of "initiation" had appeared in the years before Melville wrote *Redburn*—stories about genteel or aristocratic young heroes who undergo a change from one class into a lower one. For the most part, these fall into one of two opposite categories. The least common and more modern variety is the democratic romance—the story of the ennobling consequences of hard work or the common lot on the privileged or coddled, the story of the snob who is made into a man. Richard Dana had touched on this theme in *Two Years Before the Mast*, as did Hawthorne in quite a different way in "My Kinsman, Major Molineux", but it was not until considerably later—in Dickens's *Great Expectations* or, more obviously, in Kipling's *Captains Courageous*—that the

theme found full romantic expression. The earlier and more common variety is the bourgeois tragedy—the story of fineness, beauty, and distinction trampled underfoot by the commonplace, or the theme of gentility in adversity that Dickens uses in *Oliver Twist* or *David Copperfield*. Melville had both kinds of myths available to him when he wrote *Redburn*, especially the second, but the point is that he rejects them, carefully steering a middle course between—and this is perhaps the strongest evidence that Melville, rather than relying on myth of any kind, was consciously trying to stay independent of it.

The second alternative, the myth of the fallen aristocrat, was probably the more dangerous temptation for Melville. Those qualities of "bitterness," "misery," and "self-pity" which so many critics have noted in *Redburn*, and which some feel mar the book, may be due to the fact that Melville fails wholly to avoid the temptation. Yet the function of Melville's ironic comedy, which most of the critics who think *Redburn* is full of self-pity ignore, is to reject the myth—to reject genteel pretension of merely any sort.

Another American novel about gentility fallen on hard times written at the same time as *Redburn*, Hawthorne's *The House of the Seven Gables*, has been to some extent recognized as a democratic rejection of aristocratic values. Critics have observed, for instance, that Hawthorne portrays the aristocratic and genteel Pyncheon inheritance from the past as not only useless or chimerical but actually sickly, cumbersome, disadvantageous, harmful: the Pyncheon family claim to vast tracts of land is a harmful chimera, the aristocratic Pyncheon roses sicken while the plebeian Maule beans flourish, Hepzibah's aristocratic name and blood is not only useless but disadvantageous in running a penny shop. But Melville's rejection in *Redburn*, although equally important to the scheme and worked out in more circumstantial detail, seems to have been ignored: that the manners Redburn acquired, which dictate his offering the mate tobacco out of a "tortoise-shell" box, result in the ridicule of the mate, that his attempts to dress in mittens and pay the captain a social call result in the ridicule of the crew, that the more genteel and fashionable his clothes, the more useless they are at sea—that the beautiful moleskin jacket must "shrink," that the elegant pantaloons must rip and be patched before they are useful, that the

fashionable boots must have their high heels removed so that Redburn can "come down in the world", that Redburn's notions of "proper" table manners and his ignorance of the way food is served and eaten by a ship's crew result in the crew's regarding him as unmannerly and in his going hungry, that the genteel recommendation Mr Jones gives the captain, the sort of recommendation that would be given of a young gentleman about to start a career in banking, result in his advance wages being withheld, that his father's guidebook, a relic of genteel prosperity, misleads him, and the elegant glass ship imported from France gives him a damagingly false view of the world of ships

There has already been too great, or at least too sentimental, a stress on the terrible hardships Redburn undergoes—the viciousness of Jackson, the cruelty of the captain and crew, the bad clothes and bad food, the hideous impact of the Liverpool slums. But these elements are also important. There is a tough-minded realism in Melville's rejection of gentility and the past, coupled with a democratic dislike of class distinction, but at the same time Melville goes at least as far in the opposite direction by refusing to romanticize the common lot or the salubrity of menial labor.

Hawthorne ends his romance by uniting Maule and Pyncheon in a marriage which implies an acceptance of both the plebeian and aristocratic myths. But Melville ends his with the phrase, "yet, I, Wellingborough Redburn, chance to survive"—the expression of a proud and lonely Ishmael, who has rejected both plebeian and genteel society as opposite but connected parts of a total social order.

### III

The strongest evidence of Melville's rejection is provided by the main structural feature of *Redburn*. Characteristically, Melville builds the deeper meanings of his stories and novels on the basis of parallels and contrasts that he draws between characters who represent certain complex abstractions—for instance, Billy Budd as a representative of Good, Claggart of Evil, Ahab as a representative of Defiance, Ishmael of Acceptance. Melville uses the same kind of structure in *Redburn* in the parallels and contrasts he draws between Harry Bolton, the gentlemanly Englishman who sails back on the *Highlander*, and Jackson, the ruffianly American sailor.

A great deal of attention has been paid to Melville's picture of

Jackson, but except for Merlin Bowen, in his study "Redburn and the Angle of Vision," relatively little comment has been devoted to Harry Bolton, who is as important as Jackson, and who, if Bowen is correct in his guess that Melville would have enlarged the figure had he been less hasty in drawing his book to a conclusion, played a larger role in Melville's conception

Bowen notes a parallel between Harry Bolton and Redburn, which he claims is "carried out in such detail as to cause one to wonder that it has not been more commonly noted"

Both, to begin with, are more than ordinarily well born and come from a relatively sheltered background. Both are "Ishmaels," driven by hard times and misfortune too soon into the world. They are alike, too, in their romantic and distorted views of the world—the Canaan to which each aspires is the Egypt, from which the other would escape. The illusions of each are at first encouraged by the captain's "sympathetic concern" and later shattered by the cruelty of both officers and crew. Both are inexperienced as sailors, and both exacerbate the contempt this brings upon them by their incongruous dress and by their pretensions to refinement and high social status.

Several incidents of the homeward voyage, moreover, appear as counterparts (occurring in the same order and at roughly similar intervals) of experiences encountered by Redburn on the passage out. The discovery of the burning corpse in the bunk is in effect a repetition of the frenzied suicide that took place on the first night out from New York. Harry's humiliating first trip aloft is a vivid reminder of Redburn's earlier success in meeting the same challenge. Arriving in America, Bolton meets with much the same exclusion and indifference that Redburn had encountered in England. And the last sentence of the book reinforces the parallel with the narrator's expression of wonder that, though Harry has died, he himself has "chance[d] to survive."<sup>25</sup>

Certainly these parallels between Redburn and Harry exist, and are striking enough, but Bowen fails to notice that an equally striking parallel can be made between Harry and Jackson: (1) like Redburn, both are lonely or in some way isolated figures, (2) unlike Redburn, both are exceptionally scornful of proprieties, and override social or conventional restraints, (3) both are careless about their own preservation, Harry by wasting his property and Jackson

<sup>25</sup> Merlin Bowen, "Redburn and the Angle of Vision," *Modern Philology*, LII, 107-108 (Nov., 1954)



by wasting his health, (4) both exercise a strange fascination or attraction for Redburn, (5) both, for a time, are able to tyrannize over, and control, Redburn, (6) both lose their control, and become objects of pity to Redburn, (7) both are older than Redburn and his superior in terms of experience and knowledge, and most important (8) both meet their deaths, and in a similarly dramatic way—at sea, without proper burial

There are, more obviously, differences. Harry's recklessness seems to stem from his having too much money, Jackson's from having nothing. Jackson exercises his control at sea or in sailor-haunts, Harry, on his home ground. Jackson and Redburn are drawn by hate, Harry and Redburn by love. Most important, Jackson represents the lowest, hardest, coarsest element aboard the *Highlander*, Harry—with his finery, girlish beauty, and voice "like a bird"—represents the highest, softest, finest. The contrasts and similarities are such as to suggest that Melville was deliberately drawing in Harry and Jackson two extreme models, both counterparts of Redburn, both representing a kind of experience, but an opposite kind, and both experiences representing certain attractions but also dangers which Redburn, if he is to survive, must avoid. The figures are orbits, either one of which Redburn might have been drawn into with disastrous consequences—and the two orbits are much like the "aristocratic" and "plebeian" commitments which Melville avoids in narrating the book.

H. Bruce Franklin, the most recent commentator on *Redburn*, seems to believe that if Redburn had properly protected and befriended Harry when the two arrived in New York, Harry would not have drowned at sea. He maintains as the main point of his article that Redburn is responsible for Harry's death.<sup>26</sup> But surely Melville, who draws faults and weaknesses in Harry almost from the moment he is introduced more than sufficient to lay the groundwork for his destruction, makes it clear that it is not Redburn's fault but Harry's.

The most vivid instance is the scene in which Redburn, to his astonishment, sees Harry, who has shipped as a common sailor, "on deck in a brocaded dressing gown, embroidered slippers and a tasseled smoking cap, to stand his morning watch"

<sup>26</sup> H. Bruce Franklin, "Redburn's Wicked End," *Nineteenth Century Fiction*, XX, pp. 190-194 (Sept., 1965).

As soon as I came behind him thus arrayed, a suspicion, which had previously crossed my mind, again recurred, and I almost vowed to myself that spite his protestations, Harry Bolton never could have been at sea before, even as a Guinea-pig in an Indiaman, for the slightest acquaintance with the sea-life and sailors, should have prevented him, it would seem, from enacting this folly

"Who's that Chinese mandarin?" cried the mate, who had made voyages to Canton "Look you, my fine fellow, douse that mainsail now, and furl it in a trice"

"Sir?" said Harry, starting back "Is not this the morning watch, and is not mine a morning gown?"

Redburn finally persuades Harry to take off his outlandish costume, and Harry exclaims

"It's too bad! I meant to lounge away the watch in that gown until coffee time,—and I suppose your Hottentot of a mate won't permit a gentleman to smoke his Turkish pipe of a morning, but by Gad, I'll wear straps to my pantaloons to spite him!"<sup>27</sup>

This passage, with its exaggeratedly farcical humor, combines in a short space several themes developed in a more leisurely way in the first half of the book when Redburn, rather than Harry, appeared in a shooting jacket, high-heeled boots, and gentlemanly pantaloons, and when, like Harry, he showed a comic ignorance of sea language, sea usage, and the relationship between officers and men But Harry is in every respect more extreme his dress more absurdly refined and unsuited to sea duty, his ignorance of sea language still wilder Most important, his response to the seaman's tasks he is given marks a crucial difference As Newton Arvin has pointed out, Redburn had been desperately afraid of "falling—falling—falling" when he was sent up to loosen the skysail But he loosens it, and later "Begins to Hop About in the Rigging Like a Saint Jago's Monkey" Harry never does He makes one desperate attempt, "but no, he stopped short, and looked down from the top Fatal glance! it unstrung his every fiber, and I saw him reel and clutch the shrouds" From that moment, "he never put foot in rattlin, never mounted above the bulwarks"<sup>28</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Redburn, p. 245

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 248

Jackson's catastrophic end comes not because he is too little of a sailor but because in a sense he is too much of one. He is hard enough, experienced enough, and cruel enough to survive any voyage, but he is wasted by his strengths—by his hardness, hatred, brutality, and debauchery. But Harry, the girlish youth, seems to perish for the opposite reasons—from being too soft, gentle, refined, genteel. It is perhaps symbolically significant that Harry, besides failing to climb the rigging, fails to jettison his gentlemanly baggage—his “collection of silks, velvets, broad cloths and satins,” which he brings aboard in a special chest.

Newton Arvin observes

Despite the underlying gravity of the symbolism generally, *Redburn* is anything but a lugubrious book as a whole: the current of animation and vivacity on which it is sustained is purely inspiriting. Melville's feeling for light and shade did not fail him in the writing of *Redburn*. There is the familiar ballast of prosaic information—the chapter, for example, on the furniture of the quarter-deck—and there is a good deal of Melville's characteristically smiling and low-toned humor. In its richness of emotion and variety of tone, *Redburn* is generally the most likable of Melville's secondary books.<sup>29</sup>

This concluding statement, which Arvin seems to have added as a needed corrective to his main position, is a triumph of good sense over critical method, and one finds fault with it only in its failure to connect the “feeling for light and shade,” the “variety of tone,” the “current of animation,” with the actual details of Melville's tone and structure—and in the failure to see that this tone and structure runs directly contrary to the view of *Redburn* as a novel of “tragic initiation.”

*Redburn's* rejection of Bolton and Jackson, and Melville's rejection of the genteel and “Jacksonian” viewpoints seem both to stem from Melville-*Redburn's* striving for balance and independence. Melville projected the striving into a unique artistic technique in *Moby-Dick*—in, for example, the balance between the lyricism of “The Symphony,” and the realism of “The Try-Works,” between the rhythms of stasis and of motion, or in the balancing figures of Ahab and Ishmael, who represent far better than Jackson and Harry

<sup>29</sup> Arvin, p. 109

Bolton what Melville grew to see as the two main responses to life. But if the balances are less complex and less successfully worked out in *Redburn*, they are of a similar kind, and they represent a more nearly unique and independent artistic achievement than any of the critics who have been trying to fit *Redburn* into an autobiographical or mythic pattern have given Melville credit for

Gods Determinations Touching Half-Way  
Membership *Occasion and Audience in*  
*Edward Taylor*

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ONE NOW BEGINS A STUDY OF EDWARD TAYLOR taking for granted his Puritan orthodoxy. That orthodoxy must be seen to include more than the "five points" of the synod of Dort, more than the Cambridge Platform or the Westminster Confession, but there are few New England Puritans whose actual beliefs do not outrun these programs. Thus in studying Taylor one may attend to the morality tradition, the poetics of meditation, the baroque sensibility, perhaps even the Platonism of the Cambridge School, but none of these applications of emphasis can be used to challenge the conclusion, carefully worked out by Donald Stanford and Norman Grabo, that Taylor figures as a theological and ecclesiastical conservative.<sup>1</sup> Whereas once it seemed appropriate to wonder whether Taylor's failure to publish indicated heterodoxy, it is now possible to study the intimate connection between much of his poetry and his advocacy of conservative religious positions. The *Meditations* developing an anti-Stoddardean conception of the Lord's Supper are the obvious examples. As far as I know, however, *Gods Determinations touching his Elect* has never been adequately placed in the context of the religious issues of the 1680's.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The explications of Taylor's conservative theology to which I refer are Stanford's Introduction to *The Poems of Edward Taylor* (New Haven, 1960), pp. xlix-liv, and Grabo's *Edward Taylor* (New Haven, 1961), pp. 24-39 and *passim*. For other significant elements in Taylor's work, see Nathalia Wright, 'The Morality Tradition in Edward Taylor,' *American Literature* XVIII, 1:17 (March, 1946), Louis Martz, Foreword to Stanford's edition of the *Poems*, Austin Warren, 'Edward Taylor,' in *Rage for Order* (Chicago, 1948), and Willie T. Weathers, 'Edward Taylor and the Cambridge Platonists,' *American Literature*, XXVI, 1:31 (March, 1954).

<sup>2</sup> Jean L. Thomas has recently argued that *Gods Determinations* is more profitably linked with the homiletic tradition than with either the morality play or with the literary meditation. I agree with this, but I heartily disagree with her conclusion that Taylor has not sufficiently developed the relation between Christian doctrine and the human condition of Puritan man' (see 'Drama and Doctrine in *Gods Determinations*,' *American Literature*, XXXVI, 452-462, Jan., 1965). What Miss Thomas fails to see, I think, is

Such a reading is extremely revealing. First of all, it shows once again the extent to which Taylor's poetry was engaged with the ideas most crucial to Taylor the minister. The burning issue of the decade after 1679, as Perry Miller and Edmund Morgan have shown, was the question of the failure of the New England Congregational churches to replenish themselves with an ample supply of "saints" what had caused and what could be done about the fact that there were far too many "half-way members" and far too few who would come forward, publicly confess their conversion, and come into "full communion?"<sup>3</sup> *Gods Determinations* speaks directly to this question. The implied audience of the poem is precisely the half-way member of the Puritan congregation, the theme is the desirability of a more complete and active participation in a "particular church" than that provided for by the Half-Way Covenant of 1662. Without criticizing the terms of that necessary arrangement, Taylor urges that too many have rested content in the half-way state—outside the covenant proper, and this, according to Taylor, is clearly opposed to God's explicit determinations for the new economy of salvation.

Looking at the poem in this way makes possible two further considerations. First, it emphasizes the most striking quality of his unusual mind, the unremitting concern (of which "metaphysical" technique is only one manifestation) to domesticate the transcendent in the particular. God's determinations begin in his own mysterious essence but they issue—directly and explicitly, not by mere extension or inference—in the practical arrangements of the New England Congregational Church. Conversely, a crisis in the history of that church becomes the occasion not for the standard jeremiad or sermon against falling away but rather for Taylor's justification of the ways of God to man. Moreover, such a reading calls attention to Taylor's sense of addressing real people in a concrete historical situation, his keen and sympathetic sense of audience is a rare quality among the later Puritan writers. Possibly Taylor preached

that *Gods Determinations* is actually a homily about the condition of Puritan man in New England in the 1680's.

<sup>3</sup> The best brief discussion of the membership dilemma of Puritanism is Edmund Morgan, *Visible Saints* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1965), pp. 113-138. Morgan's treatment is based, to a certain extent, on the more complex work of Perry Miller, whose *New England Mind From Colony to Province* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953) treats the whole question of Puritan decline, see esp. pp. 82-118.

a series of pastoral sermons which paralleled the arguments of *Gods Determinations*. In any case the poem was not written in a social vacuum and it is the very reverse of abstract speculation. Whatever Taylor's intentions regarding publication may have been,<sup>4</sup> his ability not only to anticipate the most worthy objections from potential listeners but even to sympathize with their feelings must be set down as a considerable literary virtue.

## I

One way to begin thinking about *Gods Determinations* is to compare it with Wigglesworth's *The Day of Doom*, America's other seventeenth-century epic of "justification." Striking differences become immediately evident as Taylor's poem turns out to be almost completely dominated by certain peculiarities of the New England situation. More is involved here, I think, than a judgment about degrees of Puritan provincialism. All the later seventeenth-century Puritans are provincial: virtually all of Massachusetts and Connecticut believed that God's eternal purposes would be realized in those favored regions, and certainly no one is going to claim that Wigglesworth rises up to Milton's level of cosmic generality. But even granting American provincialism, Taylor seems somehow different. Wigglesworth's generality is his eschatological concern: all men face death, judgment, heaven or hell. But Taylor has almost no concern with the "last things"; his interest is the state of the soul now. As in *Preparatory Meditations* his principal concern is the continual ebb and flow of his own thoughts and experiences associated with the Lord's Supper, so in *Gods Determinations* his emphasis is on the experiences of the souls in his congregation. Unlike Wigglesworth, Taylor takes no pleasure in sending off to hell those who on the last day prove (or are proven) to be unredeemed natural men. Taylor believes in the absoluteness of God's sovereignty, but he does not threaten those outside the covenant of

<sup>4</sup> Two fairly recent articles review the question of what can be known about Taylor's attitude toward publication. Emmy Shepherd suggests that we are to consider Taylor a member of the species "amateur poet" whose motive for not publishing was humility ("Taylor's Injunction against Publication," *American Literature* XXXIII, 512-513, Jan., 1961), but Francis Murphy is convinced that we have no real evidence for settling the question and so we ought to forget about it ("Taylor's Attitude toward Publication," *American Literature*, XXXIV, 393-394, Nov., 1962). My remarks are, of course, independent of this question of fact: a writer's sense of audience is quite different from his intentions regarding publication.

grace with the boggy of damnation, instead he wrestles with the difficulties many of his own charges seem to be having about their place in the church covenant

Nor do "first things" get much more than perfunctory consideration—at least by Miltonic standards. Creation, fall, the effects of depravity—all these are got out of the way in the first few poems. The divine decision to effect a new covenant which will satisfy both mercy and justice requires, it is true, a fairly long poem (210 lines), but this is after all the *summa* of distinctively Puritan theology, and at that the covenant is sealed by line ninety-one ("If so, its so then I'l his Quittance seale")<sup>5</sup> The second part of the "Dialogue between Justice and Mercy" is a discussion of the pains both sides of God's nature will have to take in order to induce "froward" man into the covenant. Thus by the middle of the third poem of the series Taylor has already arrived at his own proper emphasis within the common seventeenth-century matter of justification. What happens outside the recognizable spiritual history of individuals familiar to Taylor he passes over quickly, the *doctrine* of the covenant is there, but it is not defended or even explained at length. His problem concerns the temptations which discourage the elect from taking advantage of the adequate means of salvation which God has established in history and recently purified and brought to perfection under the New England Way.

There is a bit more preliminary doctrinal statement: man (still considered as Adam) is called to account, God's sovereign decrees are explained, and (in one line) Adam's reprobated descendants are seen to "scull unto eternall woe" (p. 400). But this is really all there is of a general nature, and even this reveals an unusual emphasis. God's selecting decree, predictably, splits "All mankind" in a Dicotomy,<sup>6</sup> but such a division does not matter very much to Taylor. (So slight is the attention given to this major doctrine that one critic has tried to demonstrate Taylor's belief in universal salvation)<sup>6</sup> Far more important is the undoctinal division of the elect into four groups, those who get into the Royal Coach immediately (and later, according to Grabo, reappear as "Saint") and the three

<sup>5</sup> Stanford, ed., *Poems of Edward Taylor*, p. 394. All further quotations from *Gods Determinations* are from this edition and are identified by page number in the text.

<sup>6</sup> Weathers (see n. 1) argues that 'universalism' is part of Taylor's debt to the Cambridge Platonists, but this contention seems based on a misreading of the text.



ranks who variously haggle with Satan and groan to Christ for succor throughout poems seven through thirty<sup>7</sup> The reason for this somewhat factitious division soon becomes clear from these middle poems Taylor will have *several* chances to examine the psychology of conversion—the natural motives which impede and the supernatural means which aid the process In one sense, the doctrines of the irresistibility and inamissibility of grace mean that essentially, or ontologically, or under the aspect of eternity, all the elect are really in the condition of those who enter the coach of salvation from the first, without benefit of argument But though divine decree is eternal, conversion is an experience in time, one *comes to* an awareness or experience of grace, and it is the experience and not the dogma that concerns Taylor The gradual conversion of the various ranks signifies not a universalism anticipating that of Charles Chauncy but a careful concern for what is happening in the religious experience of declining New England

At this point one is careful not to be carried away in praise of Taylor's healthy empiricism, his psychological rather than his dogmatic bent, for Taylor does not, after all, pursue the minutiae of individual mental process in all their vagary and irrelevance The Puritans had, ready to hand, an elaborately formulated and fairly well-publicized "morphology of conversion" Had no such morphology existed there might have been less trouble about "hypocrisy" than there was, but there would have been other dangers, better that a few bold, "carnal" men gain entrance to the church by fraud than that any true saint be excluded by reason of his failure to recognize the workings of the Spirit in himself As always, the possibility of abuse ought not to destroy the right use<sup>8</sup> The long middle of *Gods Determinations* is, accordingly, a version of the Puritan psychology of conversion, designed to instruct and reassure hesitant half-way members who might be on the brink of confessing their full conversion Thus it is not surprising to dis-

<sup>7</sup> The most useful discussions of structure in *Gods Determinations* are those of Grabo (pp 159 168) and Nathalia Wright My threefold division coincides with the one Grabo suggests in considering the poem as Ignatian meditation, to get a five act structure he merely divides the long middle (poems 7 through 30) into three parts Nathalia Wright differs only in considering poems one and two as a sort of separable prologue

<sup>8</sup> My understanding of the Puritan sense of conversion—its pattern and its problems—is based on the following works William Haller, *The Rise of Puritanism* (New York, 1957), esp pp 83 172, Perry Miller, *The New England Mind The Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1939), pp 280 299, Morgan, *Visible Saints* pp 33-112

cover that the experiences of the several ranks are not very different. Technically, as Taylor sets up his schema in "The Frowardness of the Elect in the Work of Conversion," the first rank is won over by mercy, the second by justice, and the third by justice and mercy together, but this refers only to their first taste of conversion, not to the all-important experiences which follow Satan's treacherous arguments against the awakening Soul, and Soul's timid self-doubts, are similar in all three cases. Taylor's tripartite division is for emphatic repetition, not for the exploration of "varieties of religious experience."

## II

The import of the middle poems (from number seven through number thirty) can be put quite simply. Satan suggests to each of the ranks that to regard oneself as one of God's chosen saints is to commit the unpardonable sin of presumption. His intention, of course, is to involve them in the contrary sin against the Christian virtue of hope—also unpardonable—namely, despair. As Hawthorne's Puritan stories shrewdly recognize, this is a characteristic Puritan dilemma, the ideas of election and reprobation sound very much like the twin unpardonables of medieval tradition.<sup>9</sup> Taylor also recognizes this nice problem—from within the Puritan system itself, he meets it, in fact, head on, recognizing it as a major practical difficulty confronting the consciences of aspiring but sensitive and honest Puritans. Clearly, if the New England Way were to survive, saints had to come forward in substantial numbers, make convincing confessions, and take their rightful place as full members of the church. Timidity and false humility would be out of order. God *does* save some men, *despite* their monumental unworthiness, this is to *His* credit, not theirs, a confession of the workings of saving grace is properly the occasion not for presumptuous human pride but for the humble and realistic acceptance of the sovereign and unpredictable ways of a merciful God. Thus, as Christ and Saint repeatedly inform Soul, a high degree of assurance of election is not inconsistent with humility. But although smugness and despon-

<sup>9</sup> The classic treatment of presumption and despair in Hawthorne is "Young Goodman Brown", Goodman Brown begins his investigation of diabolical evil with the presumption that he is among the elect, comes gradually to doubt that there is any good in the world, and ends by combining the two sins: he evidently dies clinging to the idea that he alone is not in league with the devil.

dency are equally reprehensible, there are, Taylor sympathetically admits, certain ambiguities

Soul's first appeal to Christ, in reaction to even the most general of Satan's charges (made against all the ranks), is very carefully worded

Thou Gracious Lord, Our Honour'd Generall  
May't suite thy Pleasure never to impute,  
It our Presumption, when presume we shall  
To line thy Noble Ears with our Greate suite? (p 404)

Soul's tone, after the initial apology for presumption, is one of wonder "We sought thy throne to overthrow", can it be, therefore, that you have expended grace on such "Treators arch"? Or are we, as we seem to be, and as our adversary says, simply sinful, not redeemed in any sense? Christ's reply is comforting He is a "Gracious" God still, Satan's carping is not to be believed Scarcely has the reply taken effect, however, when Satan cogently urges that Soul *cannot* be Christ's since he repeatedly and flagrantly disobeys divine law Pressing this obvious advantage he suggests that, in the light of obvious sins, Soul's first experiences of grace have been illusory "Soon ripe, soon rot Young Saint, Old Divell Loe/ Why to an Empty Whistle did you goe?" (p 407) Soul tries to argue that grace in the covenant comes in spite of sin, that this is the wonder of the new dispensation But to Soul's affirmation that the covenant has been offered to him, Satan asks if "Mercy [is] impudent? or Justice Blinde?"—that such a thing could happen Soul seems to sense that Satan is still using the wrong language, a rhetoric of works and merit, whereas "The Gospel did the Law prevent," but the adversary's charge is rather compelling "Oh shame! presume on Grace!" (p 409)

Soul, honestly aware of its own sinfulness, and fully informed that sin is the greatest of all evils, is by the very honesty of its moral perceptions made vulnerable to a serious charge—look at your life and *then* tell me you are saved This is, of course, a wrong way for a Puritan to think, the gulf between man and God is so wide that all saving contact between the two must be originated by God, God can freely choose to save any man He freely chooses to save And, given the infinity of any single sin and the undeniable fact that all men are sinners, the mere number of sins is scarcely a problem

And thus by a curious kind of inversion, what seems moral honesty in man—how can *I*, being so sinful, be saved?—becomes despair and presumption at the same time despair because one's sins seem too great to be remitted, and presumption because one is thinking about one's own capacities rather than God's power and purposes. The devil, master of every natural weakness, can easily make good his charge that Soul is *too sinful*, the next three poems accordingly convict Soul of gross inward lusts, lapses of outward duty even by merely natural standards, and such an abuse of spiritual possibilities as results in a general failure to bear spiritual fruit. He rests his case against first-rank Soul with a couplet which becomes, with variations, a refrain to be echoed throughout his dealings with the other ranks

Thy sins do sculk under a flowrisht paint  
Hence thou a Sinner art, or I a Saint (p 413)

In applying to Christ for succor, Soul's emphasis is exactly right. Satan "strives to mount my sins Thy grace to lessen." A person need not, Taylor argues, fall into the trap of conflating election and presumption, he will not do so as long as he realizes that doubts about God's ability to save a sinner are not self-accusations so much as lapses of trust in the efficacy of saving grace. "Those Graces which thy Grace enwrought in mee,/ He [Satan] makes as nothing but a pack of Sins" (p 414). Once first-rank Soul has clearly realized the meaning of Satan's logic, Christ replies in the most tender and homely terms ("Peace, Peace, my Hony, do not Cry") that His saving grace has been real, and the first round of debate is complete. Soul, convinced of its election, expresses (in "An Extasy of Joy") Taylor's own most characteristic religious experience, the sense of the saved man's remaining insufficiency

Had I ten thousand time ten thousand hearts  
And Every Heart ten thousand Tongues,  
To praise, I should but stut[ter] odd parts  
Of what to thee belongs (p 418)

This is no mere intrusion of Taylor's own poetic concern. Rather it is a particularized version of the last stage of the conversion morphology: one remains perfectly humble even after Satan's insidious and unsettling doubts have been laid to rest. One had to

be convinced of grace even in the face of sin—sanctification, as the cliché goes, does not immediately accompany justification. Similarly, in the final state, one could never lose the sense of one's own inadequacy, even in the full realization of grace's operation.

After this first salvific climax, Satan resumes his specious reasonings, now against ranks two and three. At first he is a bit more heavy-handed in his approach, suggesting that "this Grace, which you, forsooth, so prize" is "but an airy notion, or a name" (p. 421), or even less subtly that God himself is only a "Brainsick Notion" (p. 424). But even in his first approach to these ranks he is careful to hint at the existence of his trump argument, that "Though Grace is Gracious, Justice still is Just", and therefore, since the catalogue of sins urged against the first rank can be lengthened for the second and third, their gracious pretensions seem presumptuous indeed. To the second, "You are not Saints, or I no Sinner am", to the third, "I am a Saint, if thou no Sinner art." Again the normal response is an honest recognition of the force of Satan's arguments. These ranks hesitate to throw themselves on Grace's mercy. "She'll surely smite/ Us, for presuming on an others right" (p. 429). Still, what else is to be done? The movement to Christ may indeed turn out to be based on human rather than divine promptings, and hence be presumptuous, but can that make the case any worse, practically speaking, than it is? If they are damned, one more sin. And perhaps Soul's recognitions *are* in fact "blessed motions." If so, then "thrice Happy mee /If not, I'st not be worser than I bee" (p. 432).

Thus the second and third ranks (now called simply Soul) take steps. In a significant variation of the pattern of rank one, they turn not directly to Christ, but to Saint, even the Puritan, it appears, is not without some sort of indirect approach to God. Saint's function is certainly not to intercede or mediate, only to give the wise counsel of experience, but the more timid, happily, need not move toward the acceptance of "a naked Christ" immediately.<sup>10</sup> Soul now plays his own devil's advocate, urging

<sup>10</sup> Taylor's sense of the importance of the advice and example of the visible saints demonstrates the moderate character of his theology. He does not, like Stoddard, stake everything on the outward life and the generally pious intention in order to bring every body within the church and thus guarantee social order. Neither is he like the anti-nomian fringe, however, which made every aspect of conversion a matter of the private operation of the Spirit.

against himself exactly those sins and shortcomings Satan so searchingly identified. Saint, however, easily detects the false construction Soul has been led to place on the undeniable and embarrassing details of depravity. All these things have been thought and felt before, it is all quite recognizable, part of a familiar process. A person could not be saved *apart from* a strong conviction of his own utter sinfulness. Moreover, it is necessary to suppose that Satan will expend his best efforts in troubling those very souls to whom grace has actually been extended. His own followers "he troubles not" with such thoughts, "But Wicked thoughts he in the Saints doth fling/ And saith they're theirs, accusing them of Sin" (p. 437). Saint's final answer to "Soul's Doubts touching its Sins" is an exposure of the circularity involved in Satan's logic.

To prove thee Graceless he thy sins persues  
To prove thee sinfull, doth thy Grace accuse (p. 438)

To break free of this circularity one need only see that it is the very presence of grace which makes the sins one undeniably continues to commit appear as heinous as they do, as they in fact really are.

Soul's "Doubts from Want of Grace" are easily answered, they are really the same doubts. "Such as have Grace, are Gracious evermore," Soul argues against himself, the doctrine of inadmissibility seems to mean that lapses back to the old fallen ways prove that the experience of grace was illusory. Not so. The experience of grace, Saint explains, is progressive, sin will not vanish all at once, nor will the soul of man be completely satisfied by the first infusions.

God, and His All, 's the Object of the Will  
All God alone can onely it up fill

Will nothing give Content unless you have  
While here a mortall, all your Will can Crave? (p. 440)

The great mistake the elect seem to make—the reason, in fact, why more sincere and humble Christians do not come forward into full membership—is, Taylor's argument implies, their erroneous feeling that to affirm their own salvation is to claim their own perfection. But it is wrong to suspect that in some dramatic way the Spirit will simply take over all the human faculties. Taylor himself may

ask for this invasion at times (as in "Huswifery"), but only anti-nomians hold that it is an essential part of the experience of conversion<sup>11</sup>

"Doubts from Satans Temptations" gives Taylor another chance to say that Satan works hardest on the elect, he also takes up the question of Satan's lying show of logic. Again it all comes down to the question of presumption and despair. Satan tries to make the carnal man feel gracious, here is the real locus of presumption. The saint he *accuses* of presumption, thus tempting him to despair.

He makes Civility to pass for Grace,  
With such a hunt riches hot senting trace  
To such as God doth Call, he doth reply  
That all their Grace is but Hypocrisy (p. 443)

The practical answer to this theoretical impasse is, for Taylor, the same as it has always been for Christianity everywhere, an answer Taylor could have found in the Ignatian tradition or simply discovered himself: work as if everything depended on human effort, pray as if everything depended on God.

Do all Good Works, work all good things you know  
As if you should be sav'd for doing so  
Then undo all you've done, and it deny  
And on a naked Christ alone rely (p. 444)

The question of whether Taylor's federal Calvinism has as much right to this solution as other traditions, though interesting, is not crucial here. The point to be made concerns the extreme practicality of Taylor's approach and his keen awareness of normal religious attitudes. He is addressing himself, in reality if not in fact, to an audience of sincerely religious persons too timid to claim election.

The dialogue between Saint and Soul ends here, but in the next two poems Taylor, still speaking as Saint, goes on to forestall further objections and, finally, to summarize his case. The height of "Satan's Sophestry" again is the perverse double logic of making salvation seem automatic to the reprobate and impossible to the elect. The double lesson to be learned is that since assurance can

<sup>11</sup> According to the theology of Ann Hutchinson, conversion really meant that the individual personality was literally taken over by the Holy Spirit. Taylor realizes, however, as the judges of Mistress Hutchinson had discovered in the 1630's, that the New England Way depended on a notion of conversion less radical than this.

never be perfect (Satan can always raise some doubt), one ought not to look for more certainty than the case admits of, and more importantly, one is never to fear presumption "when God invites" The climax of Saint's exhortation to the second and third ranks is Taylor's answer to the problem of the decline of full communicants in the New England churches "Presumption lies in Backward Bashfulness,/ When one is backward though a bidden Guest" (p 450) Preaching at Westfield on the Massachusetts frontier, in the declining years of the seventeenth century, Taylor is already out into the highways and hedges of history If those who hear his sermons and those imagined readers of his poem do not come to the table of full communion, the wedding feast will indeed not be full Taylor's deepest concern seems to be that no bidden guest exclude himself out of timidity or false modesty

Fortunately, as Taylor imagines New England salvation history, Saint's sound admonition is effective What he expresses as fact is clearly his deepest hope The long middle portion of the poem ends with a conversion parallel to that of rank one, signified by the desire to praise God and the accompanying sense of Soul's "Insufficiency to Praise God suitably for his Mercy" And if Taylor has been minutely practical in his instructions, he is absolutely homely in his characteristic praise-poem The conceit of the world falling to atoms, each atom becoming a world peopled by men with as many tongues as there were atoms originally (and so on), is curiously like the man with seven wives, with seven sacks, with seven cats We often think of Taylor, especially in connection with the *Meditations*, as a man seeking the heights of mystical experience, it is also worth noticing that here the process of conversion culminates in and is celebrated by a sort of fairy tale

### III

The last section of *Gods Determinations*, five poems on the place of the Congregational Church in the life of the elect, is in many ways the most unusual part of the sequence After Taylor has carefully detailed the objections a potential saint might understandably have against entering fully into a church covenant, and after he has answered them with a dramatic account of the Puritan morphology of conversion, he goes on to discuss the particulars of the covenanted church itself, fully convinced that these local de-



tails are as much a part of God's essential plan as eternal decree or conversion in time

The church alone has the means of full sanctification, that state which second- and third-rank Soul erroneously identified with justification or conversion "Each Ordinance and Instrument of Grace/ Grace doth instruct are Useful here" (p 453) Here Taylor would seem to agree with Stoddard, already his opponent in matters of organization and indeed on the question of the nature of the church itself Stoddard would, on the strength of such a theory, bring into full membership virtually all professing Christians so that they might make use of the "means"<sup>12</sup> Taylor, however, pursues a different logic only those who are justified are capable of profiting from the church's means of sanctification, all others will profane them Hence now "Christ's Curious Garden [is] fenced in/ With Solid Walls of Discipline" Corruptions are assiduously excluded, "For on the Towers of these Walls there stand/ Just Watchmen Watching day, and night" (p 454) A church is not a church, the familiar argument ran, unless it possess the power ("discipline") to keep itself pure, otherwise one was back in a precisely papistical condition Thus open communion is not the answer—ready and easy as it seems—to the problem of New England's declining church membership

For Taylor the terms of the half-way covenant are just and proper in one very important sense they maintain a barrier against the corruption of the church by the questionable characters who are likely to be, in Wigglesworth's phrase, merely "civil, honest men" But neither minister nor half-way member may rest easy with this compromise The minister must constantly ask—Taylor himself no doubt repeatedly *did* ask in the 1680's—that those half-way members who *do* have sufficient evidence that they are not merely natural men forsake the comfortable anonymity of the half-way fringes and come into full membership And it is incumbent on every half-way member constantly to search his own heart for traces of the workings of the converting grace which will make it not only proper but even necessary to confess the mercy of Christ in his own peculiar case

<sup>12</sup> For the position of Solomon Stoddard and that of his various opponents, see Miller, *From Colony to Province*, pp 226 247, Morgan, *Visible Saints* pp 146 151, and F H Foster, *A Genetic History of New England Theology* (New York, 1963), pp 37 41

The Reforming Synod of 1679 listed the shortage of full members as the most serious evidence of New England's accelerating decline, and the jeremiads of the 1680's take up this theme with an unflinching sense of its crucial importance, Taylor showed his concern over the matter in his 1679 sermon against Stoddard's facile "catholic" solution and again in letters to that virtual pope of the Connecticut Valley<sup>18</sup> And he is clearly worrying over it at length in *Gods Determinations* The soul entering into church fellowship must expect to be stopped and questioned "Centinalls of all demand/ The Word" The churches must not become merely comfortable, "free and catholic" assemblies of the outwardly righteous But the requirement of confession ought not to discourage those on the outside who know themselves to be called They will, of course, be torn opposite ways by fear and desire, "But yet Desires Screw Pin [must] not slack" The final issue of God's decisions and promises and dealings with his elect must be a fully voluntary entrance into the church covenant As Taylor describes it,

Desire Converts to joy joy Conquours Fear  
They now enCovenant with God and His  
They thus indent  
The Charters Seals belonging unto this  
The Sacrament  
So God is theirs avoucht, they his in Christ  
In whom all things they have, with Grace are splic'te (pp 455-456)

Once in the church, in the full sense, its grace and glory will be evident Inside the walls the garden displays "choicest flowers" on which "Christs Spirit Showers/ Down in his Word, and Sacraments/ The Clouds of Grace Divine Contents" (p 456) From here, eventually, "A Divine Hand/ Doth hand them up to Glories room" But again, for the third time in the sequence, it is necessary to stress the theme of human inadequacy Soul is of its own nature unfit to praise God's merciful determinations adequately, even if it were fit, the glorious sight would make it dumb In the last analysis even Saint depends absolutely on God

<sup>18</sup> Taylor's explicit statements against Stoddard and in favor of the traditional practice have been studied by Grabo in 'The Poet to the Pope,' *American Literature* XXXII, 197-201 (May, 1960) and "Edward Taylor and the Lord's Supper," *Boston Public Library Quarterly* XII, 22-36 (Jan, 1960), and by Stanford in 'Edward Taylor and the Lord's Supper,' *American Literature* XXVII, 172-178 (May, 1955)

Yet if thou wilt thou Can'st me raise  
 With Angels bright to sing thy Praise (p 458)

But the poem does not end with a vision of the saints praising God among the angels in "glories room." Its proper conclusion is in the church, not in heaven. Taylor, as I have suggested, is not eschatological; the last moment of Christian experience he chooses to concentrate on is not the final vindication of the saints at the last judgment or their entrance into eternal reward. *Gods Determinations* ends with an allegorical vision of community activity in the Congregational Church. The coach that came to claim the saints who surrendered immediately now reappears as the church. In it the saints, "*Encroached for Heaven*," offer up their songs of praise. Inside the church covenant, in fact, "All their Acts, publick, and private, nay/ And secret too," are essentially acts of worship. "And if a string do slip, by Chance, they soon/ Do screw it up again" (p 459). However it might seem to us, to Taylor the interest the saints take in the spiritual lives of one another, within the covenant of a particular church, is more glorious than beatitude itself.

Nor is this vision of God's eternal plan extending down to minute particulars to be regarded as *special* providence, one local and perhaps eccentric manifestation of divine interest. Rather this is the essential plan, including the presbyters who guard the doors of the church and continue to enforce discipline. Other dispensations there may be, but the one Taylor describes is the norm by which others are to be measured as approximations.

Some few not in, and some whose Time, and Place  
 Block up this Coaches way do goe  
 As Travellers afoot, and so do trace  
 The Road that gives them right thereto  
 While in this Coach these sweetly sing  
 As they to Glory ride therein (p 459)

It is possible to be a saint outside of full communion with a New England congregation, but this is distinctly the exception and not the rule. The lesson for the half-way member, then, should be quite clear.

#### IV

At this point someone may be tempted to say that *Gods Determinations touching his Elect* seems, even more than before,

“versified doctrine”—just as the handbooks say. Does the evidence show any more than that Taylor was a practical rather than a speculative theologian and that his poem is, though never published, “occasional”? I believe it does.

It will not do to begin an evaluation of *Gods Determinations* by lamenting once again the fact that Taylor held no higher conception of poetry than he did. For Taylor, as for all the Puritans, poetry was a branch of rhetoric, this was an inescapable part of the Ramist heritage.<sup>14</sup> As a branch of rhetoric, Taylor’s poetry could not be, even in his *Preparatory Meditations*, other than a handmaid of religion. But within this limiting theoretical conception of poetry there is room for a wide range of practical differences. Public rhetoric can be more or less “poetical,” and poetry—whether public or private—can be “rhetorical” in many different senses. *Gods Determinations*, I would suggest, is rhetorical in the best sense: it reveals a sense of audience. Taylor is able to express his own deepest religious concerns in a way that becomes public and available because he is able to imagine himself in the place of a listener or reader. Because he can sympathize with the objections he meets and appreciate the force of the arguments he answers, he does not merely lay out dogmatic formulae. To be sure his theme is not the insoluble ambiguities of the Puritan religious life, he does come to conclusions. He imagines a properly disposed audience, one which knows when a point is proved, when to be convinced. But even this has poetic advantages. For such an audience the reason of the matter is quite enough, elaborate or specious persuasion is unnecessary.

This sense of audience, this ability to project himself sympathetically into the minds of his half-way members, is one of Taylor’s most impressive achievements in *Gods Determinations*. It may even give that poem some critical claim against the more popular *Meditations*. I would not insist on this personal preference, but Taylor the pastoral rhetorician convinces me in a way that Taylor the would-be mystic does not. In any case, *Gods Determinations* makes Taylor seem more humane, even more human, than many of the American Puritans. Just as he is most interested in doctrine in practice (and hence makes it seem more than “mere dogma”), so his

<sup>14</sup> For the influence of Ramus on Puritan literary theory, see Miller, *Seventeenth Century*, pp. 300–330.

particular applications are made with full awareness of how the matter might look to a sincere but as yet unenlightened Christian. Whereas recent historians have ascribed chiefly economic and sociological motives to the large number of demurring half-way members in the third generation of Puritans, Taylor grants them the highest possible motive—an awareness of their own sinfulness. He shows them that this is not an adequate motive, that, in fact, it may be an argument of the devil, but he meets them charitably and on their own ground. He impresses us as a pastor who is too sincere himself to be cynical about his own congregation.

To measure one's favorable response to the rhetoric of *Gods Determinations touching his Elect* one needs only to compare it with other famous specimens of Puritan rhetoric. One thinks less favorably of Wigglesworth's *The Day of Doom*, where the relentless application of the logic of divine sovereignty instantly and automatically demolishes all human objections as "carnal reason." Less favorably too of Mather's *Magnalia*, though technically a jeremiad, and hence presumably addressed to the people of New England as a monumental sermon against falling away, its unflagging pomposity makes it seem primarily a monumental self-indulgence, not really addressed to anybody. Not even Jonathan Edwards, I suspect, compares favorably with Taylor on the question of the sense of audience, his deficiency in this regard is part of what Van Wyck Brooks meant in talking about Edwards's "steep, icy and pinnacled intellect" which went its own stubborn, godly way in spite of what the vast majority in New England really lived and felt. Edwards's "sensational" rhetoric was an effective converting ordinance, no doubt because he thoroughly understood the hopes and fears of the sinner, but one could scarcely say he respects the intelligence or feelings of his listeners. Elsewhere, Edwards rehearses his own conversion, as if to some endlessly patient maternal listener, marshals unanswerable arguments against the Arminians, communes with God. But he seems incapable of addressing another person. Not until Franklin's *Autobiography* was American literature able to show a sense of audience as adequate as Taylor's in *Gods Determinations*, and then, one is entitled to feel, at the expense of a certain reduction in moral seriousness.

# *The Works of N. P. Willis as a Catalyst of Poe's Criticism*

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EDGAR ALLAN POE's literary relations with N P Willis began in 1829, when the latter, then the editor of the *American Monthly Magazine*, rejected Poe's poem "Fairy-land" for publication This relationship continued, intermittently, until Poe's death in 1849 In the autumn of 1844 the two men met when Poe became critic and subeditor of the New York *Evening Mirror*, which was under the joint conduct of Willis, George Pope Morris, and Hiram Fuller Though they had long maintained decided reservations about each other, and about each other's literary ability, the Northerner and the Southerner now became warm friends For his part, Willis soon came to see that Poe was a writer of genius, and he wrote an appreciative preface for the initial publication of "The Raven," which appeared in the *Evening Mirror* for January 29, 1845 He also developed a high regard for Poe as a man, and after the latter's death he defended him against detractors in the *Home Journal* for October 13, 1849

Poet, editor, writer of sketches and tales, critic and playwright, the most popular magazinist of his time, and no insignificant contributor to the development of the American short story, Willis had an important influence on Poe's criticism He not only inspired Poe to write some of his best practical criticism but also prompted him to elaborate two of his most important critical principles (1) his theory of the *totality of effect* in short compositions and (2) his theory of the nature of the four faculties of the creative process, including his dismissal of Coleridge's distinction between the *fancy* and the *imagination* In this essay I propose to describe this important influence which Willis had on Poe's criticism

## I

In the August, 1836, issue of the *Southern Literary Messenger*, of which Poe was editor, he reviewed the popular magazinist's

collection of tales, *Inklings of Adventure*. Employing for the most part a subtle irony and a light sarcasm, interrupted by a serious discussion of his theory of the totality of effect, Poe succeeded in "using up" Willis in a masterful fashion. An analysis of this review should show clearly his critical method as well as his appraisal of Willis at this time.

First, Poe informs us that he will pursue "a course of indisputable originality" by treating Willis exclusively in "his character of literateur [*sic*]." Thus Poe begins by administering a slap at those critics who, much to his disgust, had been in the habit "of deciding upon the literary merits of this gentleman by a reference to his private character and manners"—a prevalent fault of American literary criticism at this time. Next, since Willis's tales were easily available in periodicals, Poe selected "Niagara" at random "to see how a poet (one whom we *know* to be such)" would "think it proper to handle a subject so momentous." The irony in the parenthesis should be obvious.

He then undertook a close analysis of the characters, the style, and the plot of Willis's story. The characters consist of Mr Slingsby, a recent college graduate, whom Poe describes as "a delicate little gentleman, with a pretty face and figure—fair, funny, fanciful, fashionable, and frisky", Job Smith, Slingsby's rustic companion from Vermont, "an ugly fellow, of course," comments Poe, "seven feet high, ill-dressed, solemn, and sensible", and Miss ———, a celebrated society belle, whom they meet at the Falls, and who, in Willis's terms, is "'kind, playful, unaffected, and radiantly, gloriously beautiful.'" As the rustic Job is Willis's "foil No. 1, for light wit," wryly comments Poe, so Miss ——— is his "foil No. 2, for a species of sentimental gallantry." And Poe observes, facetiously, "It must now be seen at a glance that our author can hardly fail to make a decided hit of his visit to Niagara."

Poe describes Willis's narrative style as one which "proceeds in a vein of mingled sentiment and *very-good-joke*," a style which he thinks is at variance with the nature of its subject. In Poe's view, Willis committed "the egregious folly" of writing jocularly about a subject—"the cataract of Niagara"—which calls for a serious and awesome tone. Furthermore, Willis's "whole narrative is disfigured and indeed utterly ruined by the grievous sin of af-

fection" And he points, with deliberate irony, to "long passages of a force, or delicacy, or beauty—shall we say unsurpassed in any writer of English? We shall not say too much if we do The bantering humor interspersed is of the best order"

As for the plot, says Poe, "It will not be difficult to foretell, from the general air of the narration in what manner Mr Slingsby" [he means Willis] "will think it incumbent upon him to wind it up He will give it a melo-dramatic finale? Most assuredly," Poe replies to his own question He describes Job's sensational rescue of Miss —— from the swirling, churning waters in the cavern behind the downpouring curtain of the Falls, flinging himself at the precarious perch of the distressed damsel to form a bridge between her and the safety of the cavern floor In Poe's view, "none" of the tales of Willis "are entitled to the merit of *plot*" Indeed, he writes, "it appears an idiosyncrasy in Mr Willis that he has little feeling for *incident*" His forte, Poe suggests, lies mainly "in an exceedingly delicate vein of sentiment"

In short, for the above reasons, particularly because Willis's style is incompatible with the nature of his subject, he fails to achieve "*totality of effect*" The point, Poe declares, is not whether Willis intended merely "a pleasant sketch" and successfully fulfilled this intention Rather it is whether the proper or ideal effect is achieved In this instance it is not Jocularly and levity are not the proper mannerisms for a subject that calls for grandeur and majesty Willis has dunderheadedly put himself at a disadvantage by "endeavoring to reconcile these obstinate oils and waters of the soul" His effort is contrary to common sense Harmony and unity are sacrificed on the altar of "absurd flipperies and frivolities" Poe warns us that "a writer neglectful of the *totality of effect*, will fall short of his end, if that end be a remembrance in the 'language of his land'" Afraid of "any sustained and unmingled severity of sentiment" in his writing, Willis "invariably fails," or as Poe prefers, Willis "invariably disregards" totality of effect—the essential principle of brief literary composition Willis's blind disregard of this important principle causes Poe to avow, "*Niagara* is by no means the best of the sketches before us—it may, very possibly, be the worst"<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The principle of totality or unity of effect was applied by Poe on at least two pre



After Poe's serious discussion of his theory of totality of effect, he returns to his ironic manner and ends his criticism with what appears to be a classic example of irony clothed in understatement "We believe that the high powers of Mr Willis are properly estimated by the judicious among his country-men His foibles, his faults, and his deficiencies—let us not forget to say, his merits—are quite as well known to himself as to us His intellect, if not the loftiest order, very closely approaches it—and he has stepped upon the threshold of nearly every species of literary excellence"<sup>2</sup> To have attained the threshold is not to have entered the mansion

Poe also discusses Willis in the August, 1836, issue of the *Southern Literary Messenger* in his series called "Autography," which began in the February issue In this series he treats popular literary personalities in brief sketches which include an analysis of each writer's autograph This time he generously concedes—and seriously, it appears—that Willis's writings, on the whole, "are greatly underrated"<sup>3</sup>

The next work by Willis to inspire him was *Tortosa, the Usurer* Willis's play had been first performed at the Walnut Street Theater

on various occasions in his review of Mrs Sigourney's *Zinzendorff, and Other Poems* in the *Southern Literary Messenger* for January, 1836, and in his review of Dickens's *Watkins Totile, and Other Sketches* in the same publication in the following June In neither case, however, does Poe develop this principle to the extent apparent in his review of Willis's *Inklings by the Way*

In his criticism of Mrs Sigourney's poetry, Poe attributes the origin of this principle to August W Schlegel and charges the American poetess and her English counterpart Mrs Hemans with habitually ignoring it in their poetic practice (*The Complete Works of Edgar Allan Poe* ed James A Harrison, New York, 1902, VIII, 126 [hereinafter referred to in this essay as *Works*])

In his criticism of Dickens, however, Poe holds that unity of effect, though 'indispensable in the brief article,' is "not so in the novel" He points out that whereas Dickens observes this principle in his brief compositions, Colonel Stone, the author of *Ups and Downs*, does not Hence Stone's sketches are ineffective (*Works*, IX, 46 f)

With his elaboration of the principle of totality of effect in his criticism of Willis's 'Niagara,' Poe established its importance Later he saw it as essential to the short story as a genre in his famous review of Hawthorne's *Twice Told Tales* his classic statement on the subject, which appeared in *Graham's Magazine* for May, 1842 (*ibid*, XI, 107-109) This principle is therefore central to Poe's criticism

<sup>2</sup>All the preceding quotations have been taken from Poe's review in the *Southern Literary Messenger* II, 597-600 (Aug, 1836), not included in the Harrison edition Though the review is not signed, Poe confesses to its authorship in a letter to Hiram Haines, Aug 19, 1836 (*The Letters of Edgar Allan Poe* ed John Ward Ostrom, Cambridge, Mass, 1948, I, 99)

<sup>3</sup>*Works*, XV, 165

in Philadelphia on June 20, 1839. It was later repeated<sup>4</sup> Poe reviewed it on three occasions in the *Literary Examiner* for July, 1839, in *Burton's Gentleman's Magazine* for August, 1839, and later in his article "The American Drama," which first appeared in the *American Whig Review* for August, 1845. Whether Poe saw it performed is not certain, his remarks seem to refer to the printed version.

Although "The American Drama" is the most important of the three analyses because of the very comprehensive way in which Poe discusses dramatic theory, what he has to say about Willis's play in the review in *Burton's* is said more succinctly and does not differ from the former, for the most part, in its essentials. One point which Poe makes in his *Burton's* review that he fails to mention in "The American Drama" is the matter of Willis's affected style. This time he reports that Willis has corrected this "besetting sin of his earlier days. This was his worst enemy—vanquishing it, he has nothing to fear."<sup>5</sup>

In his *Burton's* review, Poe recognizes that "the excellences" of *Tortosa* "are great."<sup>6</sup> In fact, it is "by far the best play from the pen of an American author."<sup>7</sup> (Of course, we must temper Poe's praise with our knowledge of the state of American drama at the time.) The merits of Willis's play can be seen "more forcibly," Poe declares, "by considering some of the innumerable faults which are still insufficient to render these excellences obscure."<sup>8</sup> He therefore singles out three for discussion: (1) the plot is "miserably *inconsequential*", (2) the characterization is defective, and (3) some of the play's action is familiarly derivative and hackneyed.

The plot is "miserably *inconsequential*" because of proliferous intrigue, which not only obscures the clear development of the plot but also prevents it from achieving unity. At times this intrigue lacks purpose, at others it is unconnected with results which it should have produced. Much of the scheming is unrealistic, clear alternatives to the schemes not being utilized for unaccountable reasons.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Arthur Hobson Quinn, *Edgar Allan Poe: A Critical Biography* (New York, 1941), p. 284.

<sup>5</sup> *Works*, X, 30.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* p. 28.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* p. 27.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 28.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 29.

Poe charges, too, that Willis's characters are "deficient in prominence—in individuality" For instance, "Zippa is a positive failure—we can make nothing of her" And "Tortesa is outrageously inconsistent" He implies that the reversal of heart which Tortesa undergoes is unmotivated and hence incomprehensible<sup>10</sup>

Finally, Willis utilizes several dramatic devices which are hackneyed—"the old manœuvre of the sleeping draught" recalls *Romeo and Juliet*, "the deception practiced upon Tortesa by means of the portrait is borrowed apparently from the 'Winter's Tale'", and, lastly, "the conception, too, of the revulsion of feeling on the part of the usurer is a very antique conception at best"<sup>11</sup> In short, from Poe's standpoint the improbabilities in Willis's play are responsible for its lack of "vraisemblance"<sup>12</sup>

During the following years, Poe augmented his criticism of Willis, for example, in "A Chapter on Autography" in *Graham's Magazine* for November, December, and January, 1842, in his Letter vi in the *Columbia Spy* for June 18, 1844, in "American Prose Writers No 2 N P Willis" in the *Broadway Journal* for January 18, 1845, in "Magazine Writing—Peter Snook" in the *Broadway Journal* for June 7, 1845, in a review of Willis's *Loiterings of Travel* in the *Broadway Journal* for August 23, 1845, and in "The Literati of New York City" in *Godey's Lady's Book* for the summer and fall of 1846<sup>13</sup> As literary criticism, only two of these efforts are of importance—Poe's article "American Prose Writers No 2 N P Willis" and his treatment of Willis in "The Literati" The first, in particular, is important because of his elaboration of a theory of four faculties constituting the creative process—*imagination*, *fancy*, *fantasy*, and *humor*, including his dismissal of Coleridge's distinction between the imagination and the fancy,<sup>14</sup> the second because of its practical criticism—an estimate

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid*, pp 29 f

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid*, p 29

<sup>13</sup> Although Poe expressed himself on Willis in several private letters, I confine myself in this essay to his public utterances For his private view of Willis, see letters to John Pendleton Kennedy, June 21, 1841 (Ostrom, I, 163 166), to James Russell Lowell, March 30, 1844 (*ibid*, pp 246 248), and to Rufus W Griswold, May, 1849 (*ibid*, II, 445-446)

<sup>14</sup> *Works*, XII, 37 40 Poe referred to this distinction at least once before, in his review of Moore's *Alciphron A Poem* which originally appeared in *Burton's Gentleman's Magazine* for January, 1840, where he attributes to Baron de Bielfeld his idea that "the mind of man can *imagine* nothing which has not really existed" (*ibid*, X, 61 f)

of Willis's writing that is still sound. Since in his treatment of Willis in "The Literati," Poe reprints in a note the theory of the creative process laid down in his appraisal of Willis in his "American Prose Writers," I can deal here simply with the former.

First of all, Poe examines the reasons for Willis's popular success, which "is to be attributed, one-third to his mental ability and two-thirds to his physical temperament—the latter goading him into the accomplishment of what the former merely gave him the means of accomplishing."<sup>15</sup> Poe believes that Willis decided at the beginning of his career that "the *mere* man of letters must ever be a cipher" in the America of his day. He therefore "endeavoured, accordingly, to unite the *éclat* of the *littérateur* with that of the man of fashion or of society" and thus pursued a course calculated to advance his literary career—lecturing, writing religious poems, ingratiating himself with "noted women," and quarreling with "notorious men." In this way Willis's dynamic "*personnel* greatly-advanced, if it did not altogether establish his literary fame."<sup>16</sup> Poe's analysis of the role Willis's character and conduct played in his success is perceptive and accurate. Willis was celebrated as a dandy, a world traveler, a social lion, and an intimate friend of famous people. Dr. O. W. Holmes remembered him during his Boston period as "something between a remembrance of Count d'Orsay and an anticipation of Oscar Wilde."<sup>17</sup>

Poe next considers Willis's literary capacity, noting a versatility "within the ordinary range of *belles lettres*." Regarding him principally as a "magazinish—for his compositions have invariably the species of *effect*, with the brevity which the magazine demands," Poe outlines his work as a writer of brief newspaper articles, "an essayist, or rather 'sketcher,' a tale writer and a poet."<sup>18</sup> Willis's activity as dramatist Poe considers as subordinate to that as poet. He also notes Willis's few attempts at criticism.<sup>19</sup> After this outline, Poe proceeds to evaluate

As a writer of brief newspaper articles—what Poe himself calls a "paragraphist"—Willis is a failure. Because, like many brilliant writers, he composes "with great labour and frequent erasure and

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, XV, 10

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>17</sup> Quoted by Henry A. Beers, *Nathaniel Parker Willis* (Boston, 1885), p. 75

<sup>18</sup> *Works*, XV, 11

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17

interlineation," he "has by no means the readiness which the editing of a newspaper demands" Also, "his points, however good when deliberately wrought, are too *recherchés*"—that is, they display too much studied elegance—for hurried public reading Further, the longer articles of a newspaper frequently demand argumentation, and on this score Willis is wanting, "his exuberant fancy" tending to lead him astray from his main subject Poe admits, however, that when Willis has sufficient time at his disposal, "his great *tact*" makes up for his lack of argumentative skill<sup>20</sup>

As "a writer of 'sketches,' properly so called"—especially society pieces—Willis "is unequalled," such compositions being "most susceptible of impression from personal character" and offering limitless opportunities for combining novel and unexpected elements, which Poe describes as "fancy" "More than all his other *literary* qualities combined," Willis's fancy has made him "what he is" and given him "the originality, the freshness, the point, the piquancy, which appear to be the immediate, but which are, in fact, the mediate sources of his popularity"<sup>21</sup>

As a writer of tales for magazines, Willis shows "greater *constructiveness*" than one who has read only his other kinds of writing would believe possible Even so, this is a relative matter, and "the chief charm" of Willis's tales "is still referable to *fancy*," the faculty productive of unusual combinations Indeed, Willis was rated by Poe in his "Peter Snook" article as the third best storyteller in America, the first being Nathaniel Hawthorne and the second William Gilmore Simms<sup>22</sup> To be sure, Willis anticipated O Henry<sup>23</sup>

As a poet, Willis lacks *imagination*, which Poe defines as the faculty which artistically combines those elements which can be combined most harmoniously to produce the effect of *beauty* Because the combinations developed by the fancy are to a degree unharmonious, they fall short of "that purity and perfection of *beauty* which are the soul of the poem proper" For this reason Poe lays down the proposition "that fancy should have no place in the loftier poesy" Although it serves Willis well in his prose compositions,

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 11 12

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.* pp 13 14

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.* XIV, 74 f

<sup>23</sup> Fred L Pattee, *The Development of the American Short Story An Historical Survey* (New York, 1923), p 85

it is inadmissible in genuine poetry. In "Melanie" and the scriptural pieces, lacking in fancy, Willis has been "unable to supply the void with the true imagination, and these consequently are deficient in vigour, in *stamen*." The scriptural pieces are technically correct, but unoriginal. However, although its "whole *finale*" is "feeble,"<sup>24</sup> Poe sees true imagination in the ballad "Unseen Spirits," perhaps Willis's best lyric. He sees Willis's plays not as drama but as poetry, and singles out *Tortosa, the Usurer* for comment, believing it to be, despite its deficiencies, "upon the whole, the best play ever written by an American"<sup>25</sup>—a judgment probably not meant as high praise.

As a critic Willis possesses superior taste and discrimination, but Poe feels him to be weak in analytic power.<sup>26</sup> His style, moreover, "may be called extravagant, *bizarre*, pointed, epigrammatic without being antithetical (this is very rarely the case,) but, through all its whimsicalities, graceful, classic and *accurate*." His imagery, even when extravagant, is unmixed.<sup>27</sup>

## II

So much for Poe's practical criticism concerning Willis in "The Literati." I turn now to his theory of the creative process, originally stated in "American Prose Writers No. 2 N P Willis," in which the key words are *imagination*, *fancy*, *fantasy*, and *humor*. Coleridge's famous analysis of the imagination and fancy ("fancy combines—imagination creates") Poe finds meaningless—"a distinction without a difference—without a difference even of degree. The fancy as nearly creates as the imagination, and neither at all." Only God, he believes, can create in the true sense of bringing something into the world which never existed before (i.e., *ex nihilo*). Created man can only conceive what has been created and, therefore, can never be truly original, even when he conceives of nonexistent beings like griffins, the component parts of which are "re-soluble" into what has already been created by the Master Mind. This argument refutes Coleridge's distinction, Poe thinks. "The wildest effort of the mind cannot stand the test of this analysis."<sup>28</sup>

<sup>24</sup> *Works*, XV, 15-17

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 17 f.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.* p. 13

In Poe's theory, the four faculties of the creative process—imagination, fancy, fantasy, and humor—have in common the production of “novel arrangements of old forms” They may be seen as operating on a linear scale, moving from *harmony* that gives the effect of *beauty*, on the left, to *incongruity* that gives the effect of *laughter*, on the right Between these two extremes on the scale lie *fancy* and *fantasy*, the former to the right of the *imagination* and the latter to the left of *humor* The imagination, according to Poe, selects “*from either beauty or deformity*” only those elements which are *harmonious*, having a kind of obviousness about its productions which causes them “to be undervalued by the indiscriminating” Hence the productions of the fancy are popular, mainly because it adds to its novel combinations the factor of unexpectedness, which produces in the reader a sense of “*a difficulty happily overcome*” It appeals “to the majority of mankind” despite the fact that, from an absolute standpoint, it is “less beautiful (or grand)” than an act of the imagination for the reason that “*it is less harmonious*” When to the “novelty and unexpectedness of combination,” Poe continues, there is an evident “*avoidance of proportion*” the result is an invention of the fantasy And when, going further, the arrangement of a combination is not merely disproportionate but “incongruous or antagonistic” in its design, the product is the creation of the humor A product of the humor gives more pleasure than a product of the fantasy because the former is more positive in its effect than the latter, the result being laughter When the fancy has an end to gain, it turns into *wit*, when the humor has an object in view, it turns into *sarcasm*<sup>29</sup> Thus Willis inspired Poe to develop fully a theory of the creative process that is both comprehensive and neat In sum, he prompted him to write some good practical criticism More important, he served as a catalyst for two of Poe's central critical ideas

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid* pp 13 14

## Olivia Clemens's "Editing" Reviewer

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MARK TWAIN WAS MORE PRONE than most authors to seek and take advice about his writing. He could indeed be shamelessly open to suggestion. He was known to have accepted counsel from friends, family, and neighbors, no less than from editors, publishers, and fellow writers, drawing miscellaneously on—or allowing editorial liberties to—such persons as Mary Fairbanks, Emeline Beach, Emily Severence, Bret Harte, Joe Goodman, Orion Clemens, James Redpath, Elisha Bliss, Frank Bliss, William Dean Howells, Charles Dudley Warner, Charles L. Webster, George Washington Cable, Richard Watson Gilder, James R. Osgood, Henry M. Alden, George Harvey, Edmund C. Stedman, Andrew Chatto, Frederick Duneka, Henry H. Rogers, Joseph Twichell, Edwin C. Parker, and Mrs. Clemens and the children. One suspects he would have stopped the proverbial man in the street for comment if he thought the man could have done him any good.

The one person who went over his manuscripts more regularly—some would also say more rigorously—than anyone else was, of course, Olivia Clemens. "The darling little Mentor," who from courtship on scanned his manuscripts with the far from tacit understanding that they were to be pruned of crudities and excesses, had even been delegated by Twain to edit his works for him—chilling thought—after his death.<sup>1</sup> Twain made no secret of Livy's handiwork. "She edited everything I wrote," he told Archibald Henderson. "And what is more—she not only edited my works, she edited *me*!"<sup>2</sup> One might have predicted that Van Wyck Brooks would lick his chops over that morsel<sup>3</sup>—one more link in the fatal chain that was to strangle the artist and make the man over into a candidate for grasping business success and bourgeois respectability—in about that order. Among the more picturesque malefactions with which

<sup>1</sup> James M. Cox, "The Muse of Samuel Clemens," *Massachusetts Review*, V, 133 (Autumn, 1963).

<sup>2</sup> *Mark Twain* (London, 1911), p. 183.

<sup>3</sup> *The Ordeal of Mark Twain* rev. ed. (New York, 1933), p. 136.



Brooks burdened Livy was the idea that she "feminize[d] Mark Twain," re-establishing his mother's "old Calvinistic spell" over him. She made him toady to public opinion and applied the "final whiff of chloroform" to his "artistic conscience."<sup>4</sup>

There has never been any question of Livy's having in some manner overseen Mark Twain's writing. What, amazingly, still has not been satisfactorily clarified is the true character, extent, and effect of her influence. It is to a clarification of these matters, and particularly to a setting forth of the *facts* about them, that this paper is devoted.

## I

We might well begin by trying to clarify Brooks's view, which is not without cogency, and for which there seems to be some support in fact.

Whence came the basis for his original supposition of a harmful influence? Brooks cited three of the six interchanges (as published by Paine) that Livy had had with Twain over passages in *Following the Equator*.<sup>5</sup> Repugnant to her were a description of his father "lashing a slave boy," his using the word "stench" somewhat too often, and his infatuation with the word "breechclout." He, in turn, after following orders, had, with respect to "breechclout," murmured about her "steadily weakening the English tongue." This showed, as Brooks construed her criticism, that Livy "had no just sense of the distinction between virility and profanity and vulgarity" and "no positive taste at all." She made Mark Twain feel guilty about "his natural liking for bold and masculine language, which was one of the outward signs of his latent greatness."<sup>6</sup>

Brooks could have done worse than consult the scorchingly irreverent Benares section of *Following the Equator* to see by how much Twain's language would be weakened (Livy consenting or not) when he felt that the occasion demanded strength. Or, in lieu of that, Brooks could at least have read the full intent of Twain's remarks to Henderson about Livy's editing him. While Clemens apparently did give her credit for "any deeply serious or moral influence" his work might have, he also felt that, instead of trying to curb his humor, she wanted him *to be himself* and not

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 146 f., 152.

<sup>5</sup> Albert Bigelow Paine, *Mark Twain: A Biography* (New York, 1912), II, 1040 f.

<sup>6</sup> Brooks, p. 157.

dilute his own satire by confounding it with pointless buffoonery. She gave him sound critical advice, and he valued it.

"After I had written some side-splitting story, something beginning seriously and ending in preposterous anti-climax, she would say to me 'You have a true lesson, a serious meaning to impart here. Don't give way to your invincible temptation to destroy the good effect of your story by some extravagantly comic absurdity. Be yourself! Speak out your real thoughts as humorously as you please, but—without farcical commentary. Don't destroy your purpose with an ill-timed joke.' I learned from her that the only right thing was to get in my serious meaning always, to treat my audience fairly, to let them really feel the underlying moral that gave body and essence to my jest."<sup>7</sup>

In view of the modest revisions for propriety in the manuscript of *Huckleberry Finn* that might inferentially be attributed to Livy, DeLancey Ferguson properly diminished the likely extent of her having bowdlerized the book. Ferguson pointed out that Twain's "estimate of what would shock the public was formed before he ever knew Livy."<sup>8</sup> Bernard DeVoto went even further in absolving Livy of any significant tampering with Twain's vocabulary in *Huckleberry Finn* ("I have come to believe that Mark himself was responsible for many of the euphemisms and avoidances"), and DeVoto also believed she could not have done much about sexual allusions for the good reason that Twain was too timid to risk any.<sup>9</sup> Kenneth Andrews agreed that Twain did not need "censorship outside himself" for "no one was more careful than he, even in his earliest writing, to avoid suggestive language and the vocabulary and motivation of desire."<sup>10</sup> Perhaps the most acute analysis of Livy's role which has been built on the thesis that Twain conspired in his own censorship is that advanced by James M. Cox, who held that Twain needed Livy as a foil for his creative imagination. "His comic genius required such a resistance [as Livy's] in order to achieve expression in the same way that Tom Sawyer required Aunt Polly's indulgent repression in order to create the dream of freedom."<sup>11</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Henderson, p. 183.

<sup>8</sup> *Mark Twain: Man and Legend* (Indianapolis, 1943), pp. 225, 302.

<sup>9</sup> *Mark Twain at Work* (Cambridge, Mass., 1942), pp. 85, 13 ff.

<sup>10</sup> *Nook Farm: Mark Twain's Harford Circle* (Cambridge, Mass., 1950), p. 142.

<sup>11</sup> Cox, p. 140.

On the other hand, seen up close, in practice, the picture one gets of both Twain's influenced, and uninfluenced, performance is more frequently blurred than not. Since in the course of making the artistic tone of his works more consistent and true, as Livy wanted him to, he had of necessity to rid them of much impropriety, and since Livy was not *wholly* concerned with aesthetic appropriateness, while Twain made revisions that both were and were not, often adding as many improprieties as he deleted, and letting others stand unchanged, some basic questions about Livy's influence and Twain's acquiescence—as discussed by Paine, Brooks, Ferguson, De Voto, Andrews, Cox and others—remain largely unresolved. Further complicating the matter is the fact that Clemens was often of two minds about the use of "obscenities," in general, feeling, for example, that, although he was "glad there wasn't any profanity" in one of the instalments of "Old Times on the Mississippi" which Howells had complimented him on, he noticed that "a little judicious profanity helps out an otherwise ineffectual sketch or poem remarkably."<sup>12</sup> Thus, as one looks for a fair assessment of Livy's influence, much depends on how one analyzes the evidence and how one raises the question of influence itself.

External evidence indicates that Twain was much less under Livy's thumb than he might appear to have been. It is true that he at first rather gloried in being "reformed" by her (she could attack his "tenderest peculiarities"—drinking, smoking, slang, hands in pockets—and make him feel she was "doing him a *favor* instead of curtailing his freedom"),<sup>13</sup> that he did not resist some of her efforts to dominate and even bully him, and that he allowed her to keep him from expressing his religious skepticism in print.<sup>14</sup> However, as E. Hudson Long reminds us, Twain and Howells derived much fun from pretending to chafe under their wives' censorship, which they caricatured, and, as Andrews has justly noted, Twain liked to overstate the strictness of Livy's governance.<sup>15</sup> It was in fact not long after their marriage that grace and family Bible readings had gone the way of restrictions on smoking, and Livy was eventu-

<sup>12</sup> *Mark Twain—Howells Letters*, ed. Henry Nash Smith and William M. Gibson (Cambridge, Mass., 1960), I, 59.

<sup>13</sup> *Mark Twain to Mrs. Fairbanks*, ed. Dixon Wecter (San Marino, Calif., 1949), p. 113.

<sup>14</sup> *Biography* I, 412 f.

<sup>15</sup> Twain's Ordeal in Retrospect, *Southwest Review* XLVIII, 347 (Autumn, 1963), *Nook Farm*, p. 83.

ally even to become reconciled to his profanity<sup>16</sup> Nor did Twain always abide by her censorship, as in the case of his publishing the offensive "Coffin Box Yarn" over her objections The degree of Livy's editing may also have been overdrawn, as Twain admitted inserting in his manuscripts the kind of "felicitously atrocious" expressions that he knew she could not abide, just for the pleasure of seeing her excise them<sup>17</sup> However, much of this ground has already been gone over, and external evidence is not finally conclusive either way

Obviously, Livy's actual suggestions for revision, considered in context, can be infinitely more helpful to us in determining the nature of her editing, and, happily, a large enough body of such evidence does exist in the numerous comments she made on *Following the Equator* These notes comprise the most complete record that we have of Livy's editorial incursions upon a manuscript Since there is no reason to believe they were not typical, Paul Carter, who published the majority of this material, justifiably concluded that Livy's reputed Grundyism has been needlessly exaggerated Unfortunately, Carter was unaware that in the same Berg Collection reading room of the New York Public Library where he examined the typescript of *Following the Equator*, there lay a deep six-by-eight wooden box containing the manuscript (of the British edition, *More Tramps Abroad*) whose pagination Livy referred to in citing passages for revision Consequently, he could not identify all of those passages, misidentified some, missed a number of corrections she had elicited, and failed to record nine additional editorial notes she had written<sup>18</sup>

<sup>16</sup> *Biography*, I, 559, *Mark Twain's Autobiography*, ed Albert Bigelow Paine (New York, 1924), II, 84-87

<sup>17</sup> *Autobiography*, II, 90

<sup>18</sup> Paul J. Carter, Jr., 'Olivia Clemens Edits *Following the Equator*' *American Literature* XXV, 194-209 (May, 1958) In my appendix I list the nine additional notes by Livy that he missed To simplify reference to Livy's notes, I number them according to their ms pagination (the order followed by Carter), and, instead of inserting the other nine notes in their regular places, add them to the end of Carter's list Whereas Carter grants Livy a total of sixty-two comments, there are, by my count, sixty-six in the material he presents The discrepancy arises from his not having known that a long cut on the Christianization of the Fiji Islanders had been specifically called for by Livy in the ms (No 3, M 234-241), and probably from his having considered as one, three or four paired comments on separate aspects of the same subject Nos 5 and 6, 7 and 8, 29 and 30, and 47 and 48 On twenty-nine of Livy's comments, Carter's notes were in some regard inaccurate or incomplete Nos 1, 2, 3, 5, 13, 17, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24, 27, 31, 33, 38, 39, 42, 46, 47, 48, 54, 56, 58, 59, 60, 62, 63, 65, and 66 Limitations of space do not permit me to show just where these occur, however, one may readily identify them by

More importantly, Carter was unable to bring Livy's comments adequately into perspective by relating them to corrections Twain made on his own, and he did not give a sufficiently analytic account of the data with which to support his refutation of the more grandiose interpretations of Livy's censorship. For regardless of what Twain may have said early in his career about Livy's charging into his study "with danger in her eye" when she got wind of his having used profanity in his writing that she did not know about,<sup>19</sup> not only do her remarks on *FE* show that she was generally more concerned with the accuracy of details than with indecency, but a study of the manuscript as a whole reveals how utterly innocuous were the inroads of her esteemed blue pencil. The ultimate impression one gets of Livy is decidedly *not* that of a woman who wasted a fair portion of her married life dictating literal propriety to a recalcitrant husband and making his prose less salty than it might otherwise have been. No, in the notes on *FE*, Olivia Clemens reveals herself to have been only, alas, a poor plodding, pedestrian proofreader, and a rather erratic one, at that, who let go many more serious improprieties than she caught.

## II

But this gets us a little ahead of our story. For, once the gaps in Carter's account are filled, the preponderant ratio of compliance over noncompliance, taken by itself, seems to indicate that Twain almost uniformly made himself captive to Livy's wishes and let her meddle altogether too much with his writing. Who could fail to be impressed, when, in the sixty-four (out of a total of seventy-five) direct suggestions from Livy to which he gave a clear and traceable response, he did what he was bidden to do forty-nine times and refused to, or would not modify exactly as directed, only fifteen times, meaning almost 77 per cent compliance—or nearly

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making a simple check of the *ms* against the the printed text. In my page references, *M* designates *ms*, *A* the Author's National Edition of *FE* (New York, 1899), and *MTA* *More Tramps Abroad* (London, 1897). For an analysis of the major differences between *MTA* and *FE* and the editing of Andrew Chatto and Frank Bliss, see Dennis Welland's article, "Mark Twain's Last Travel Book," *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, LXIX, 31-48 (Jan., 1965). Throughout this paper, cancellations in quoted matter are given in square brackets and interpolations in angle brackets.

<sup>19</sup> Howells—*Mark Twain Letters*, I, 54.

8 per cent better than Carter's 69 per cent based on a thirty-six out of fifty-two count<sup>20</sup>

Furthermore, prejudicial as the forty-nine-fifteen figure may be, it does not quite give the full picture. For if one asks what Twain's actual noncompliance comes down to, the prospect for his independence begins to look somewhat dim. Indeed, twelve of the fifteen matters on which he appears to be defying Livy are by no stretch of the imagination to be called instances of *defiance*—in the sense, that is, that he is resisting restrictive criticism. What is there for him to defy when Livy's comments are, for the most part, offered as queries and involve minuscule details of diction, fact, or clarity, whose inconsequential alteration can impose no visible change of form upon him? Observe what these twelve matters are

1 She asks why he put quotation marks around a passage taken from his Diary, since he had not used them with other passages, and he replies that he did not always need them, but did in that case (No 10 *M* 615, *A* I 227 f.)

2 She prefers that he not refer to the mayor of Ballarat, William Little, by name, and, after trying an alternative, he sees he is going to come out with about the same thing, and so goes back to "Mr William Little," after having told Livy he would leave his name out (No 12 *M* 652, *A* I 243)

3 She asks for clarification of the Diary caption "*On the road*" ("Don't you want to say 'on the road' to where?") and he properly declines to elaborate ("No, Sir [or Madam], I don't" (No 28 *M* 850, *A* I 303))

4 She thinks his reference to a precious stone would be more nearly accurate were he to speak of it as a "greenstone" rather than a "jade," and he thinks it a needless distinction and refuses to be bothered (No 30 *M* 866, *A* I 312)

5 She asks why he dates two proximate journal entries "*December 9*" and "*December 12*," and he replies "It is to allow for the 3 days *between* & save the elaboration of saying it" (No 35 *M* 957, *A* I 337)

<sup>20</sup> In three of the remaining eleven instances—Nos 1, 2, 24—we cannot tell what Twain did because the page bearing the passages concerned is no longer a part of the ms, though from their similarity to other instances, one would guess he went along with her. In four other instances—Nos 11, 31, 32, 37—he both did and did not do what she asked of him, and in the other four—Nos 25, 29, 44, 68—Livy either retracted her query or registered approval.

6 She questions him about the truth of his statement that an Indian servant's regular wage was as low as seven rupees per month, and he explains that, although they paid their servant more, that was because he *did* a good deal more, and that their hostess in Lucknow was his authority for using so low a figure (No 49 *M* 1057B, *A* II 38)

7 She reminds him that the Tibetans looked "*very* much like the Chinamen," not just "a good deal" like them, as he has it, but he sees no need to further intensify the resemblance (No 61 *M* 1350, *A* II 233)

8 Livy wonders whether, in the description of the Great Mutiny in India, he should not have mentioned the sinking of boats with women in them at Cawnpore, and Twain does not include that detail because his sources—mainly Trevelyan—plainly show that there was no such sinking (No 62 *M* 1394, *A* II 261)

9 Livy asks, "Do you want to say 'Innes' without any title," expecting him to bring it into line with surrounding references to "Captain Anderson's post" and "Colonel Masters," but he makes no change because the inconsistency is not his, but that of the source he is quoting, Captain Birch (No 63 *M* 1400, *A* II 263)

10 Livy had taken the liberty of making a minor grammatical change which he rejected "Don't correct my 'a' hotel," he told her, "—we never say *an*" (No 64)<sup>21</sup>

11 Livy wants him to explain what sort of weapon the Australian "nulla-nulla" is, and he neglects to give the clarifying footnote for it (No 71 *M* 585, *MTA* 139)<sup>22</sup>

12 She asks whether the horses in Lahore were really afraid of elephants, and, thinking there is no need to question his information, he lets the passage stand unchanged (No 72 *M* 1439, *A* II 283)

Dismissing these rejections of Livy's advice, then, as too trivial to mean anything, all one has to show for Twain's refusal to be

<sup>21</sup> The explicit phrase to which this refers cannot be definitely identified, since we do not have Livy's original note (she always gave *ms* page numbers). The appearance of Twain's reply on the verso of *M* 1400 means nothing, for he commonly turned over the pages on which her notes were written and treated them like any other blank sheets, to be used wherever they might come to hand. Unless it was on a page deleted from the *ms*, Livy's note may have referred to the sentence, "It's a charming town, with a hell of a hotel" (*A* I 304, repeated I 310)

<sup>22</sup> The reference to the "nulla nulla" occurs in one of the passages Frank Bliss removed from *FE* (see *MTA* 138 140)

edited are three paltry instances of backbone, none of which is fully clear-cut

1 He insists on having his own way in calling Cecil Rhodes one of "the principal marsupials of the Southern Hemisphere," and disregards Livy's question, "Are you sure you want to say this of Mr Rhodes?" (No 26 *M* 814, *A* I 293 n) However, it looks suspiciously as if he were trying to placate Livy and take the curse off his insult when he inked in the following addition to the footnote on Rhodes "I, myself, am the latest marsupial Also, I might boast that I have the largest pocket of them all But there is nothing in that"

2 On seeing an Indian servant get a "brisk cuff on the jaw," Twain is reminded of conditions in the Hannibal of his youth, in particular of a slave's having been killed for nothing more serious than irritating his master by his awkwardness He also recalls that the community believed he had a right to kill the slave Livy asks him to "enlarge a little on the public sentiment of the community about the act of killing the slave" "Surely," she feels, "public feeling would be *strong* against the slaveholder" Twain's retort is short and to the point "No, ma'm—it *wasn't*" (No 43 *M* 1039, *A* II 29)

3 Twain observes that when "some good-hearted Europeans" proposed that the closely restricted zenana ladies of India be given a park where they could "go about unveiled and enjoy the sunshine and air as they had never enjoyed them before," it seemed that their "proposition <was> the equivalent of inviting European ladies to assemble in the seclusion of a private park without their clothes on" So the manuscript had read at first But, as Livy directs him not to make this comparison, for "it makes ones <*sic*> blood run cold," Twain fumbles around for a milder expression and finally settles on a slightly milder one that could not have warmed Livy's blood by much the ladies were not totally nude, only "scantily and scandalously clothed" (No 58 *M* 1239, *A* II 169 f)

So here, with the zenana ladies, is the most daring example of incomplete compliance One cannot call Twain's failure to modify the callousness of Hannibal to the slave murder an out-and-out countermanding of Livy's wishes, for while he might at Livy's urging "whitewash" his father by removing the reference to his having lashed a slave boy, he knew better than to try to alter social



history out of deference to his wife's sensibility. In sum, if one examines the fifteen instances of non- or incomplete compliance, one finds Twain's noncompliance to be practically nonexistent, and this fact would, for the moment, as good as put Brooks in the right about Twain's wanting to please Livy more than *anything* else, even if it meant embracing the very shackles of her editorial dominion.

But Brooks's view holds up only so long as one does not submit the instances of Twain's compliance to the same kind of analytic scrutiny one would use to demolish the supposition of his noncompliance. We have already seen that no matter how one wishes to treat the data, numbers and percentages are qualitatively void. Even if we maintained that Twain obeyed Livy in forty-nine out of fifty-two cases, it would still be no less true that the whole of that ratio could not be quite as instructive as its significant parts. Take the four cases in which Twain both obeyed and disobeyed:

1 Livy disliked his having injected references to "the loose women, the tight women" in the middle of a catalogue of Australian emigrants from England, and so Twain said he'd take out "tight," and he did, leaving "loose." The manuscript shows that "the tight women" had been interlined, and hence had come as an afterthought, giving him the loose-tight pun. By removing "tight women" Twain did not really give up a thing—if it was decorum that Livy had wanted of him (No. 11 M 636, A I 238).

2 Livy had asked whether he thought the *Flora*, a boat they had taken on their tour of New Zealand, would have been "so bad a boat if it had not been crowded," and Twain answered, "Yes. She was the *worst* ship I ever saw." Assumedly, he was holding fast, but a check of the manuscript shows that he did look over the passage on the *Flora* and modified the severity with which he had worded his condemnation of the ship.<sup>23</sup> Nevertheless, as he retained the full strength of the condemnation itself, the sum effect of Livy's having prompted him to go over the passage was to sharpen the

<sup>23</sup> He removed four references to her as a "hog boat," but in two of them substituted—respectively—the equivalent of a cattle scow" and "scow." Among other minor changes, he also refrained from suggesting that the passengers had been swindled. Although Twain allowed Andrew Chatto to talk him out of using some four and one half paragraphs on the *Flora*, he consented to the cut only because he thought it inexpedient to risk a libel suit. Frank Bliss did not make that cut in *FE*. See Welland, p. 42.

actual point of his criticism by having him tone down the momentary distraction of the intemperate language he phrased it in (No 31 *M* 876, *A* I 316)

3 In describing his quarters on the *Flora*—"A cattle-stall in the main stable"—Twain had ambiguously remarked, "The place was as dark as the soul of the Union Company, and smelt like it" Livy commented, "I don't like 'smelt like it,'" to which Twain whimsically responded, "Well, I'll modify to 'smelt like a kennel'" His modification clears up a vagueness of syntax, however, while tamer, maybe, than a "smelly soul," it could give but small solace to the insulted party (No 32 *M* 880, *A* I 318)

4 Also illustrative of Twain's having made a change without a difference was his treatment of Livy's scrupling, "I don't like the 'shady principal' <sic> cat that 'has a family in every port'" "Then I'll modify him just a little," Twain rejoined But all he did was to excise the specific phrase mentioned, with its direct attribution of immorality, and substitute a subtler phrase that gave the immoral action without comment Thus "One of these cats of shady principles goes ashore, in port" becomes "One of these cats goes ashore, in port" to see how his various families are getting along" (No 37 *M* 1002, *A* II 12)

To appreciate the effect of compliance, we should go back to figures for a moment When Livy's total comments (excluding those in which we cannot tell the point of her criticism—Nos 2, 24, 75—and the one in which she expressed approval—No 44) are classified according to kind, we get the following breakdown into two major and several subcategories

# I Corrections Asked for in the Interests Mainly of Precision

A Accuracy and clarity of details	22
(Nos 4, 9, 17, 20, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 34, 35, 40, 45, 49, 53, 55, 61, 62, 68, 69, 71, 72)	
B Grammar, usage, and stylistic consistency	14
(Nos 1, 10, 14, 16, 21, 51, 52, 57, 59, 60, 64, 65, 66, 70)	
C Curbing of exaggeration and digression	5
(Nos 5, 6, 8, 13, 48)	
Total	41

II *Corrections Asked for in the Interests Mainly of Propriety*

A General propriety	9
(Nos 3, 18, 19, 32, 33, 39, 46, 54, 67)	
B Minor proprieties	4
(Nos 23, 38, 56, 63)	
C Physical modesty	8
(Nos 7, 11, 37, 47, 50, 58, 73, 74)	
D Avoidance of possible offense to persons and places	9
(Nos 12, 15, 22, 26, 31, 36, 41, 42, 43)	
	<hr/>
	<i>Total</i> 30

With respect to accuracy of details, the figures for once tell us something Twain's complying half the time—in eleven out of twenty-two cases—reflects the indifferent, heads-or-tails, quality of Livy's editing in an area where close attention might well have brought to light many additional passages in genuine need of clarification. As things stand, what Twain corrected makes absolutely no perceptible difference in the general precision of his writing. Who could have noticed that anything was slightly amiss had Twain *not* agreed to cut references to the "intelligence & evidence of culture" in the farmstead region outside Horsham, Australia (No 9 *M* 615, *A* I 227), and to cockroach-free boats (Livy recalled none—No 34 *M* 908, *A* I 328), or had Twain not reduced the crew of public carriages in Bombay from four to three (No 40 *M* 1029, *A* II 24), changed "Siva" to "Shiva" (No 45 *M* 1042, *A* II 31), and an Indian Prince's "green rubies" to "emeralds" (No 53 *M* 1095, *A* II 65 f), and had Indians speak "Ballarat English" rather than just "Ballarat" (No 55 *M* 1118A, *A* II 93)? The ten revisions Twain made at Livy's request in grammar and usage are probably somewhat less than the number of lapses one might expect to occur—and a good proofreader to find—in a manuscript of this length. The same is true of the minimal amount of exaggeration and digression she asked him to excise, especially when one considers the numerous opportunities she had for suggesting judicious restraint and the amount of padding he tucked into the book—such as the Colonel Vanderbilt and Augustan Daly stories (Chaps xxviii and xlvii). By comparison, some helpful condensation was achieved

by Frank Bliss's unauthorized excision of such items as the stories of the Tichborne Claimant and of William Buckley<sup>24</sup>

Of the entire group of forty-one revisions Livy wanted Twain to make for the sake of precision the only one that merits a second glance—and that initially because of its quaintness—is Livy's telling him that his rendering a native's war shield "no wider than a man's thigh" "does not describe" "Probably," she related, "I do not understand what the width of a man <sic> thigh is. Do you mean the thickness?" (No 4 M 595, A I 220) One is amused at Livy's literal-mindedness, and at her coyness in evading the image. Inwardly, Twain may also have been amused. In any case, rather than trifle with Livy's dimensional sense, he answered, "Then I'll say stovepipe"—which, of course, leaves him with the same type of image and does not overcome the quibble about dimensions, though his published "no broader than a stovepipe" seems a fair and accurate compromise. But, over-all, Twain's talking back to her about the squeamishness of some of her notes appears to have made Livy chary of seeming to be overscrupulous. In addition to complaining only about the accuracy of the "thigh" phrase, for example, she was significantly silent about a bit of humor Twain worked into the manuscript several pages later, wherein he flipantly compared the art work of the aborigines with that of Du Maurier and Botticelli. "Botticelli's 'Spring' is the corroboree further idealized, but with fewer clothes and more smirk" (A I 223)

Equally instructive is Livy's fixing on the grammatical awkwardness—and not the immodesty—of the phrase "for his & his wife[s] & children's naked bodies" (He changed it to the simpler "his and his family's," No 16 M 758, A I 275) As Twain in the same sentence reduced "rotten offal" to "offal" on grounds of apparent redundancy, it seems that both he and Livy were more concerned at this point with context than with avoiding secondary implications of indelicacy. For, in context, this sentence is part of Twain's severest denunciation of the white man's treatment of the Tasmanian aborigines, and it occurs in a chapter having the most serious social criticism in the entire first volume of *FE*. In another situation, where the primacy of Twain's social criticism seems sim-

<sup>24</sup> For a summation of the material cut by Bliss, see Welland, pp 43-47

ilarly to have been uppermost in Livy's mind, she rightly cautioned him not to attract attention to the wrong thing when in regard to his underscoring the fact that a Sudra could be branded for a trifling breach of caste, she asked that he remove the word "embarrassing" from his allusion to the Sudra's nakedness (No 50. *M* 1057, *A* II 44)

Thus, Victorian coyness and self-conscious empathy alone will not account for the discrimination of Livy's comments on nudity. As one looks around at other instances, one finds that she would even stand the exploiting of nakedness for the purposes of humor. In an early insertion (in Chap II), he had brought the "indelicate" John Brown story into the manuscript with no particular excuse for doing so, and without comment from Livy.<sup>25</sup> In addition to scattered references to "naked aboriginals" (*A* I 209), there are a number of other nonessential statements that one would ordinarily have expected Livy to challenge, but that she did not. These include the one about the "wrinkled old women" in the Fiji Islands, "with their flat mammals flung over their shoulders, or hanging down in front like the cold-weather drip from the molasses faucet" (*A* I 92).

As one reviews the evidence, point by point, the question that keeps coming up is: how often can Livy be expected to have nodded? Either her reputed priggishness had by 1897 lost its hardihood, or she had been deliberately worn down and had gotten used to Clemens's assumedly incorrigible lust for the profane and earthy. That he did in fact liberalize her sense of humor can be seen from her comment on his portraying the Indian crows as interested in whether he was "born in wedlock or not." "It is very good," she wrote, "but must be stricken out I fear" (No 46 *M* 1047, *A* II 33). Interestingly, it was on this world tour that Twain went through one of his periodic swearings off from swearing, only to have Livy overhear him break forth anew and tell him not to reform again as it was no improvement.<sup>26</sup> Nevertheless, it is rather strange to

<sup>25</sup> The bashful Brown, superintendent of a Presbyterian Sunday school, goes a-courting, and, while he is crossing a bridge, the wind blows his hat off into a stream. He undresses, putting his clothes carefully into the buggy and wades out for his hat. When he returns, his horse makes off down the road. He catches it and just has time to get his shirt, necktie and coat on when he sees a woman and pulls the lap robe about him. He is reaching for his trousers when he runs into his fiancée, her mother, and two aged aunts. The story ends with his fiancée reaching for the lap robe.

<sup>26</sup> *Mark Twain's Notebook*, ed. Albert Bigelow Paine (New York, 1935), p. 268.

behold Olivia Clemens passing over a blood-curdling account of the plague, a gruesome murder, and a detailed recitation of the perverse murder lust of Thuggee cultists, only to object to an intervening chapter on grounds that the coffee-drinking episode was "not delicate" and that the Indian servant's diagnosis of disordered "guts" was "indelicate" (No 54 *M* 1106, *A* II 76)

Clearly, the quality and motivation of Livy's editing was of several grades. She could both relevantly and irrelevantly object to indelicacy, as she called it, and she could overlook both consequential and inconsequential indelicacies. On the other hand, she could both refuse to be shocked and merely be inattentive.

Nothing can better illustrate how limited her criticism was in an area of supposed vigilance than the unimportance of her comments on physical modesty and propriety, most of which Twain could honor without qualm. There is, in the first place, just a handful of such comments by Livy, and of them, only a few are worth talking about. In addition to her animus against "breechclout" (No 47 *M* 1050, *A* II 35), and "stench" (No 39 *M* 1021, *A* II 21), she had Twain change the "unpleasant" "hams" to "hips" (No 7 *M* 598, *A* I 221), she thought his forthrightly comic treatment of seasickness ("retching, & gagging, & heaving, & gasping, & praying, & cursing, & snorting & puking," No 33 *M* 880, *A* I 318)<sup>27</sup> "too vulgar", she wanted him to cut his ambiguous remark that a New Zealand naturalist "was a Bishop's son, & had been home to reform" (No 67 *M* 263, *A* I 100), she wanted him neither to apologize for nor to use an "indelicate" appendix on past "atrocities" committed by the British in their Australian penal system (No 19 *M* 791 f, *A* I 288), she wanted him to leave out an ironic comment on French modesty as exemplified by the decision of Virginia in St. Pierre's *Paul and Virginia* to drown rather than take off her clothes and swim for shore (No 73 *M* 1569 f, *A* II 319), and she thought "too vulgarly suggestive" Twain's description of a primping Romeo, who, while leaning out of a train window to be

<sup>27</sup> All previously unpublished quotations from the ms of *MTA* used in this paper (of which this one on seasickness is the first) are Copyright © 1967, by the Mark Twain Company. I am especially grateful to Frederick Anderson, literary executor of the Mark Twain Papers, for permitting me to use these quotations. I am also grateful to John D. Gordan, curator of the Henry W. and Albert A. Berg Collection of the New York Public Library for giving me the opportunity to peruse the ms of *MTA*.

admired by the ladies, exposed from behind "a bud of his private apparel" (No 74 *M* 990, *A* I 343)

To say the least, Livy's editorial performance seems altogether too frequently to have been haphazard. She could object to "cursing" and yet do nothing about his having changed "quarreling with" to "swearing at" (II 20), or about such phrases as "the damndest idiot" (I 202) and "dam good" (II 43). The Indian crow that Livy would not allow to speculate on the legitimacy of Twain's birth, she would allow to curse and be profane in the presence of ladies (II 32), and to have possibly been both "a dissolute priest" and "a wallower in sin for the mere love of it" in two of his previous incarnations (II 31). Nor did "blaspheming" macaws (II 30) bother Livy. She could apparently be cajoled into accepting almost anything so long as Twain in turn had nothing that stank or wore a breechclout. Thus, shortly after changing "breechclout" to "loin handkerchief"—possibly at Livy's behest—he went on to describe the one-piece attire of the Parsee woman, and freely remarked, without interference from Livy, "When she undresses for bed she takes off her jewelry, I suppose. If she took off anything more she would catch cold" (II 25). Nor was Livy opposed to his describing the "*Well of Long Life*" in Benares as "a shallow pool of stagnant sewage" that was "filthy with the washings of rotting lepers," and that one was invited to bathe in "gratefully and worshipfully." After all, Twain had just changed "it stinks" to "it smells like the best limberger cheese" (*M* 1261, *A* II 182).

### III

What we have seen to this point is that Livy's feared editorial restraint was—all things considered—quite negligible. It should be remembered that since her seventy-five comments on *FE* affect a mere fraction of the total number of revisions with which a majority of the more than 1,700 pages of Twain's longest surviving manuscript (close to 200,000 words) are studded, no noticeable restraint—even if all seventy-five were repressive—can be claimed to have been enforced. Acknowledging all this, it is, nevertheless, still possible to be unconvinced that Livy had no great influence on Twain's writing. It is, to be sure, pure luck (and Livy's doggedness) that we can thank for the convenience of our physically

having her written comments, and since Twain customarily read to her from his manuscripts, it is not unreasonable to suppose that many of the steady changes made in the interests of tact and public good manners may still be assignable to Livy, or at least to the subtle suasion of Twain's knowing what the Boss would and would not stand. However, in the absence of proof that Livy was involved in more than the revisions on which we have her comment, we must suppose that probability to be offset by the equal probability that the large number of voluntary changes were not other than what they seem to be.<sup>28</sup>

If, then, we would take the discussion into the realm of what can firmly be known and verified, we should briefly consider three other types of comparative evidence in order to supplement the picture thus far gotten of Livy's role as editor of *FE*. First, it can be shown—in support of De Voto, Andrews, and Cox, for example—that as Twain on his own modified many more passages to avoid minor improprieties than those Livy had specifically wanted modified, he might well have made some of the changes Livy called for without her aid. In any case, since they were both apparently of one mind about that group of revisions, she cannot properly be said to have influenced him in regard to them. Secondly, when one notices the many significant improprieties Twain added to the text, despite Livy's known attitudes, it seems that he might give ground on lesser matters of taste while refusing to be compromised on essential social criticism. Thirdly, there is a good deal of impropriety of the latter more serious kind that got by Livy's censorship and was not toned down one whit by Twain in revision. It seems, therefore, that he may reasonably have gotten Livy to concede that his social criticism was not to be trifled with simply because it seemed improper or irreverent.

Taking these matters up in order, one should note that those of Twain's unsolicited revisions which closely resemble the type Livy requested of him greatly outnumber hers, and that, in certain

<sup>28</sup> Obviously, it is not possible to tell the full extent of Livy's editing, here or elsewhere, for it cannot be expected that she would leave a tangible record of all her requests for revision. One incompletely reliable clue that she did not contribute much more than the seventy-five extant comments on *FE* is that her editorial work was almost uniformly done in pencil while Twain's was done in ink, and compared with other MS revisions, those written in pencil are few and far between and do not qualitatively differ from the ones that are ascertainably Livy's.



instances, they can be construed as being more confining. The changes in which Twain seems *most* to have been Livy's surrogate are the ones he made solely to avoid immodesty and profanity, as when he replaced the mention of a Parsee woman's gown winding down "to her thighs" with "down nearly half-way to her knees" (*M* 1030, *A* II 25), eliminated the thought of taking one's clothes off—rather than merely one's hat—out of admiration for the Australian squatter (*M* 381, *A* I 128), suppressed the statement of a desire to curse all the bells in Australia and wish them in hell (*M* 691, *A* I 309), and had his family unable to speak of their Indian servant "with patience," instead of "without profanity" (*M* 1492, *A* II 289). The majority—and consistently most noticeable—of the revisions resembling Livy's deal with religious irreverence of one kind or another, and in that respect are less superficial than hers, though fully in keeping with her caveat against distractive flippancy. Typical deletions are references to drunkenness as the reason King Liholiho of Hawaii destroyed the Established Church there (*M* 125, *A* I 46, l. 22), Satan as the probable founder of Sydney, on the basis of its hot weather (*M* 307, *A* I 113, l. 22), New South Wales as a modern parody of Eden, the latter having been colonized with three good people, one convict, and one devil, the former with three good people, 25,000 convicts and 1,000 devils (their guards, *M* 369, *A* I 124), sailors substituting plain water for the Jordan River water being carried home by *Quaker City* pilgrims, who saved it for baptisms (*M* 1230 f., *A* II 165, l. 23), and a Hindu's displaying his biblical knowledge by citing "the caprice of God which passeth understanding" (*M* 1220, *A* II 159, l. 18).

Significantly, these changes further resemble those suggested by Livy in having the same limitedness of effect. Twain's irreverent social criticism was assuredly not lessened by them. On the contrary, when one considers his omissions alongside the meaningful indecorum of all kinds that he added in revision (Livy's and his own sense of propriety notwithstanding), plus the amount of original indecorum that remained untouched in the manuscript, it becomes obvious that Mark Twain's artistic integrity was by no means made hostage to his desire for public favor—or for his wife's.

We need not dwell long upon the original indecorum. Durant DaPonte pointed out the most glaring example of it in Livy's failure

to bat an eye at Twain's referring to priapus worship ten times within the space of thirty-nine pages. DaPonte believed she bypassed it because she did not know that "lingam" meant phallus in Hindustani (though Twain explicitly mentions "priapus-worship" II 177).<sup>29</sup> If Livy was ignorant of what was going on, so much for her diligence, if not, so much for her narrowness. Since statements about the lingam are usually accompanied by Twain's mentioning the "Rev Mr Parker's" "Guide to Benares" as his source, Livy may initially have been hoodwinked by that, despite the suggestive comparison of the lingam to a "stovepipe" (II 174). However, what we have to consider is not merely Livy's incidental laxness, but the fact that nothing she or Twain did altered the themes pervading both major sections of the book—the Australian more emphatically than the Indian—which are the universality of moral perversity, regardless of time or place, and man's propensity toward unreason and barbarism, whatever his level of "civilization."

These themes began to unfold in Chapter III where Twain recounted the infamies of the Hawaiian kings and showed them to be no worse than those introduced by the whites who brought Christian civilization to the Pacific. As this analysis proceeds through world-wide examples, it becomes a sort of illustrated history of the ineradicable and unwavering diabolism of the damned human race, a sort of latter-day Calvinism in its dogmatic comprehensiveness. It is picked up and threaded through the rest of the book, to be glimpsed in such matters as the slave catcher's self-incriminating apology for recruiting Kanakas to work on Queensland sugar plantations (Chap. VI), the Fijians' practice of killing and burying a dead chieftain's wives with him and their worrying missionaries with moot theological questions (VII), the criminally inhuman treatment the civilized British meted out to criminals in their Australasian "convict dumps" (X), the laxness, infanticide, treachery, and savage justice of the Australasian aborigines, and their virtual annihilation by their white masters in treachery and savagery (XXI), the exile and extermination of the Tasmanians, ironically abetted by Robinson's humanitarian conciliation (XXVII), the invading Maoris doing to the aboriginal inhabitants of New Zealand what the British would do to them—take their land and try to annihilate

<sup>29</sup> Durant DaPonte, "Some Evasions of Censorship in *Following the Equator*," *American Literature* XXIX, 92-95 (March, 1957).

them (xxxii), the reasoning of the taboo-ridden Maoris (who "slaughtered each other just for a lark," I 338) that the Christians were wrong in wanting them to supplicate the good god rather than the evil one, as the former should do a person no harm (xxxv), the vanity of Indian royalty and their past responsibility for the wanton slaughter of their subjects (xli), the ordinary Indian's relative indifference to murder and his inherent perfidy and rascality (xliii), the fanatical religious compulsion to kill among Thuggee cultists (xlvi, xlvii), the commingling of commercialism with the "religious festival" at the juncture of the sacred Ganges and Jumna rivers (xlix), the grotesque pieties observed in sacred Benares, where priests grow "rich and fat," priapus worship and superstition are equally rampant, and salvation rites include drinking and bathing in "sewage" and in the corpse-laden waters of the Ganges (I, LI, LII, LIII), some lurid details of the Nabob of Bengal's packing 146 of his British prisoners into the Black Hole of Calcutta, and the pitiless slaughter of British women and children at Cawnpore a century later during the Great Mutiny (liv, lviii), the Europeans' practice of pilfering territories from native populations and one another seen as a perpetuation of the earliest means of land acquisition in European history (lxiii), a comment on the masochism of the Trappist discipline, which by suppressing all human instincts assumedly deprives man of all he really wants and values in return for the dubious "saving of his soul" (lxv), the offenses of the Boers in taxing the Uitlanders (mainly British) within an inch of their lives and denying them the rights of citizenship—which became the pretext for Rhodes's intervention on behalf of the Reform Movement, and Jameson's ignominious raid (lxvi, lxvii), the Boer's vicious treatment of the natives and the story of a bishop who on visiting a Boer found himself accompanied in bed later on by the Boer and his wife, one on each side, with the latter remaining when the bishop awoke in the morning (lxviii), and further reflections on Rhodes as "Satan come again" (lxix). The final sentence in the book makes a fitting conclusion "Human pride is not worth while, there is always something lying in wait to take the wind out of it"

Not only were Twain's themes, as developed in these and other instances, not hurt by excisions made for propriety's sake, they

were indeed strengthened and underscored by a number of revisions in which he *added* indecorous or irreverent material to make his point. As additions are generally more revealing than deletions in what they suggest positively about intentions, Twain seems to have gotten away with much more than one might expect, if the conventional view of Livy's censorship and his willingness to be censored are to be taken at face value.

First, there are the small touches, disagreeable details, and ironic or daring comments that were added, seemingly on the spur of the moment, to reinforce his running exposition of the prevalence of human savagery and hypocrisy, in both its civilized and barbarous forms. Within a larger embellishment of the noisome and generally nauseating atmosphere in which religious purification took place along the Ganges, Twain inserted "floating corpses" in a remark about the Hindus' bathing in and drinking the river water without regard for its "filthiness" (*M* 1280C, *A* II 194). He also twice went out of his way to introduce satiric references to the lingam. Elaborating on the fact that Hindus consider Benares "the beginning-place of the Creation," he added in revision that the site of Benares "was merely an upright 'lingam,' at first, no larger than a stove-pipe, and stood in the midst of a shoreless ocean. This was the work of the God Vishnu. Later he spread the lingam out till its surface was ten miles across" (*M* 1247, *A* II 174). Then, after at first having just referred to "Shiva's symbol" as the object of common worship, he added the parenthesis "—the 'lingam' with which Vishnu began the Creation—" (*M* 1252, *A* II 177). Clearly approximating the kind of irreverence Livy normally had Twain cut out are the following two additions (the second being appended to a catalogue of the sixty-four varieties of religion flourishing in Australia)

There is more than one Pope, there is more than one Emperor, there is even more than one living god, walking upon the earth and worshipped in all sincerity by large populations of men. I have seen and talked with two of these Beings myself in India, and I have the autograph of one of them. It can come good, by and by, I reckon, if I attach it to a "permit" (Verso *M* 513, *A* I 185)

You see how healthy the religious atmosphere is. Anything can live in it. Agnostics, Atheists, Freethinkers, Infidels, Mormons, Pagans, Indefinites

they are all there. And all the big sects of the world can do more than merely live in it: they can spread, flourish, prosper. All except the Spiritualists and the Theosophists. That is the most curious feature of this curious table. What is the matter with the specter? Why do they puff him away? He is a welcome toy everywhere else in the world. (*M* 518A, *A* I 187 f.)

There are other, larger, deliberately irreverent insertions that in some way help to advance Twain's presentation of the bizarre forms of human perversity, and that remain untouched by Livy, though they could not have been other than objectionable to her. Almost all of Chapter xxxix (from the sixth paragraph to the end, much of it having been written separately on onion skin) is one such insertion. It contains descriptions of the Indian "bearer" who, once employed, becomes "as near to you as your clothes" and whose English will likely have been derived from hell, of the first bearer Twain hired, the high-caste Christian Brahmin who prayed to both the "two million" Hindu gods and "one Christian god" and claimed his piety was "dam good" for him and his family, of the unimaginable cruelties that can be inflicted upon a Sudra for breaking caste restrictions, and of the second bearer he hired, and christened Satan, who ushered in and out ("Satan in the lead") the living god from whom Twain had had a visit, a god whose followers bought "the parings of his nails and set them in gold" to be worn as amulets (*M* 1057-1057Z, *A* II 37-49). In another such almost chapter-length insertion, Twain told a scurrilous tale of how Cecil Rhodes supposedly rose from the humble station of Australian "sundowner" to amass a great fortune, which was made possible by his, appropriately, cutting open a shark that had swallowed a German with news of the start of the Franco-Prussian War, an event that enabled Rhodes to make a killing in the wool market (*M* 407-410, including 409A-409M, *A* I 139-148).

Major additions to the social criticism of Chapter xxvii cut across mere considerations of irreverence—as Twain intensified his indictment of the British for their dealings with the Tasmanians by adding both the self-condemning picture proclamation which the governor issued to inculcate love—on pain of hanging—between blacks and whites (*M* 735A, *A* I 265 f.), and the conclusion of the chapter showing how Robinson finally brought in the remaining "heroic"

natives, who, under resettlement and the blessings of civilization, became extinct (*M* 749-760, *A* I 270-276) There are various other thematic amplifications of obnoxious details or irreverence which Twain could not have introduced without being aware that they might be offensive to Livy One was a two-paragraph explanation of what made the foul Ganges waters "the most puissant purifier in the world" a scientist had found that while the sewers emptied their cholera-laden contents into the river, and while the germs might propagate by the millions, they would die after having been in the river for six hours, though they might thrive in pure well water (*M* 1280-1280C, *A* II 193 f) What might, from Livy's point of view, be the most palatable of such amplifications is still far from tame While attempting to illustrate the theme that when we deliver pagan lands from error, we should protect them from "some of our high-civilization ways, and borrow some of [their] pagan ways," Twain added some of his notebook remembrances of devoutly Catholic Bavaria, Austria, and France, where the peasants seemed "mere pagans" and utterly destitute of civilization, despite their omnipresent images of the Virgin Mary He had, among other things, watched an umbrellaed Frenchman supervise the women carrying heavy laundry baskets on a cold, wet day, and then retire to the tavern, order his food, and read his "little religious paper" in order to be enlightened by "the histories of French saints who used to flee to the desert in the Middle Ages to escape the contamination of woman" (*M* 1329-1340, *A* II 224-228) Finally, in self-vindication—and as if he were directly trying to forestall Livy's objections—Twain threw in a comment on the ineluctable addiction of *all* men to irreverence The passage began with this paragraph

We are always canting about people's "irreverence," always charging this offense upon somebody or other, and thereby intimating that we are better than that person and do not commit that offense ourselves Whenever we do this we are in a lying attitude, and our speech is cant, for none of us are reverent—in a meritorious way, deep down in our hearts we are all irreverent There is probably not a single exception to this rule in the earth There is probably not one person whose reverence rises higher than respect for his *own* sacred things, and therefore, it is not a thing to boast about and be proud of, since the most degraded savage has that—and, like the best of us, has nothing higher To speak

plainly, we despise all reverences and all objects of reverence which are outside the pale of our own list of sacred things. And yet, with strange inconsistency, we are shocked when other people despise and defile the things which are holy to us (M 1312A-B, A II 212)

From the several kinds of evidence provided by the manuscript of *MTA*, it can, I believe, be conclusively asserted that in all revisions of any consequence that he made in the interests of literature and propriety, Mark Twain was fully his own man. He surely protested too much in accusing his wife of "steadily weakening the English tongue." Her editorial work was governed by simpler and far less sinister considerations than those ostensibly suggested by the indelicacies she scored. Indeed, the most revealing aspect of her "influence" has to be the pettiness of matters she thought important enough to deserve comment, especially when these are related to all that she ignored and to the gross irreverence Twain added to the book, regardless of how it might sit with her. Obviously, while agreeing with Livy on some minor points, he operated on the premise that there were more things in heaven and earth than were dreamed of in her philosophy, and judging by the final result of everything both he and she did and did not do, it would not seem that Twain's writing could have been discernibly different had his "darling Mentor" never seen a page of it.

### *Appendix*

The following are the nine additional comments by Livy that have remained submerged in the manuscript. Most of them were written on what became the versos of sheets Twain turned over and, at a later stage, used to continue his writing. To facilitate one's finding them, Livy's notes are listed here in the sequence in which they occur in the manuscript, rather than in strict numerical order. (Insertions are set off by virgules.)

No 67 M 263, A I 100, l 13

Livy

7th line from top "had been home to reform"

What does that mean? (Verso of 264)

Twain canceled this remark about the New Zealand naturalist

[He was a Bishop's son, & had been home to reform ]  
His special interest was the fauna

He had repeated the remark at the end of the paragraph and  
cut it again there

No 68 *M* 593, *A* I 219, ll 7 f

Livy

539 Do you think "model" is the correct word here?  
model <*sic*> always seems to me the original & not the  
copy or replica [replacer <?>] Probably I am wrong  
(Verso of 536½ Livy had transposed her figures, giving  
539—cut from the ms—as her page reference, instead  
of 593)

Twain made no change

he makes a missile which science itself cannot dupli-  
cate without the model—if with it

No 69 *M* 703 f, *A* I 261, ll 18-20

Livy

704 1st line I suppose Yale will be outraged if you call  
it a "college" (Verso of page on which Twain has  
"910-913 SKIP to 914")

Twain changed college to University

For Lawson knew everything and could meet the guest  
in a creditable way, and save the reputation of the [col-  
lege] /University/

But note his prior inconsistency

I should expose my College to shame before my  
guest, he would see that I, a member of the Faculty of  
the first University in America, (*A* I 261, ll 8-10)

No 70 *M* 477, *A* I 172, ll 1 f

Livy

Page 447 Do you intend to say "statistics" or statisticians?  
5th line from bottom (Verso of 1351)

Twain changed his verb



Yet the statistics [contend] /indicate/ that it rises again

- No 71 *M* 585, *MTA* 139 (Original ending of Chap xxi removed from *FE* by Frank Bliss, *A* I 216)

Livy

585 Dont <*sic*> you want to explain in a foot-note what a "nulla-nulla" is? (Verso of 1423A)

Twain did not think it necessary to add the footnote Toward the end of Chapter xxi, he had given an extended quote from Mrs Praed on the way her father was challenged by a black chieftain, whom he slew The sentence Livy was referring to read "He was armed with spear, boomerang and nulla-nulla, yet held none of his weapons poised"

- No 72 *M* 1439, *A* II 283, ll 3-5

Livy

1439 Is it true the [elephants] /horses/ in Lahore were afraid of the elephants? (Verso of page on which Twain marked a long cut 1446½-1464)

Twain made no change

The Lahore horses were used to elephants, but they were rapturously afraid of them just the same

- No 73 *M* 1569 f, *A* II 319

Livy

[1569] [1569] [1570 &] 1569 1569½, 1570 I should leave out these pages about Paul & Virginia & the French modesty (Verso of new 1569)

Twain made the cut In what is left of it on *M* 1570, Twain had had an Englishman contrast the common-sense attitude of the British toward modesty with that of St Pierre's French people the British would have had Virginia strip herself naked and swim for shore rather than be such a "sentimental fool" as to preserve her modesty and go down with the ship Scattered references to *Paul and Virginia* and to the Church of England and Catholic missionaries are cut from the next chapter, LXIII (II, xxvii)

No 74 M 990, A I 343, l 7

Livy

990 You will have to leave out 6th 7th 8th 9th 10th lines  
from the bottom It is too vulgarly suggestive (Verso  
of 1589)

Twain made the cut It dealt with the pathetic dude they saw  
on the train, who fancied himself the "Prince of Wales"

it was as good as being in Marlborough House itself  
to see him do it so like [Yes, he was content with his  
effects He got up at a station, by & by, & leaned out of  
the window, [& then < >] gracefully, charmingly,  
languidly, poetically, to be admired of the ladies, & his  
coat was short, behind, & [< > /exposed to me <?>  
just a]/ bud of his private apparel—a diffident little pale  
bud, breaking into blossom]

No 75 M 999, A I 346

Livy

999 It seems to me I would not put in the potatoe conun-  
drum (Verso of 1590)

Twain made the cut He seems to have been reminded of the  
potato conundrum by the poem, "A Sweltering Day in Aus-  
tralia," which was filled with "o" and "oo" sounds and appeared  
near the end of Chapter xxxv

# The Tempest and The Waste Land

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IN THIS ARTICLE<sup>1</sup> COLIN STILL'S BOOK *Shakespeare's Mystery Play A Study of The Tempest*<sup>2</sup> is proposed as a major not a minor source for *The Waste Land* in that it directs and extends material from Weston and Frazer and ensures that the patterns in the poem deriving from comparative religion ascend rather than coalesce, move rather than mark time

## I

Still discusses *The Tempest* in the light of the Eleusinian mysteries and sees the play as an allegory of the psychological experience of initiation. His case suffers from the minuteness with which it is argued, but Eliot, in his preface to Wilson Knight's *The Wheel of Fire* (London, 1930), calls Still's book "interesting." I suggest he first found it interesting in 1921, when it was published, in the autumn of which year he was drafting *The Waste Land*.

The connection between vegetation and mystery rites, clear in Frazer, is crucial in Weston. By distinguishing between their exoteric and esoteric meanings, the mysteries provide Weston with a link between primitive rite and spiritualized Grail symbolism. But pattern aside, the material in Weston and Frazer, viewed as machinery for a poem investigating the modern Wasteland, is not helpful. Frazer's is remote, and Weston restricts discussion to the Grail symbols and their origins. Eliot, while adopting the pattern, is sparing with properties from both sources. The images he needed to body the pattern in a poem where reduction of normal narrative would put strong pressure on the image-structure<sup>3</sup> were at hand in

<sup>1</sup> This is a revised version of a paper first given at the 1966 AULLA conference in Auckland.

<sup>2</sup> Colin Still, *Shakespeare's Mystery Play A Study of The Tempest* (London, 1921). Grover Smith mentions Still in *T. S. Eliot's Poetry and Plays* (Chicago, 1956), pp. 70, 84, and a fuller account appears in Northrop Frye, *T. S. Eliot* (Edinburgh, 1963), pp. 68-69. Still presented an augmented version of his views in *The Timeless Theme* (London, 1936). Subsequent references to Still will be made to *Shakespeare's Mystery Play*.

<sup>3</sup> It is well to bear in mind that the type of narrative established in final form by Pound's cutting was already inherent in Eliot's draft, in such manifestations as shifts and

Still A good deal was already familiar to Eliot but another context and another angle enforced its relevance Furthermore, Still was explaining a literary work with a clear "outline"<sup>4</sup> Frazer's massive compilations have no such outline, and the Grail material is blurred by accretion and misunderstanding Still, with one text in view, provides a clearer scheme Again, since his pattern attaches to a literary text, it clearly has a literary relevance Weston's book, though dealing with a literary problem, is strongly "anthropological" Eliot indeed, discussing Weston and Frazer in his notes, calls *The Golden Bough* "another work of anthropology" Still's concern with literary pattern would act sensibly on a man as conscious of craft and tradition as Eliot

Weston's argument attaches closely to Christian sacrament and legend, and the rite she defines is eucharistic Still's rite is figurative and psychological His equations depend on the elements, on women, dogs, wind, thunder, and so on, properties found again in *The Waste Land* where Christian sacrament scarcely appears, as too specific for Eliot's ambient spiritual position<sup>5</sup> Attitudes to food in Weston, Still, and *The Waste Land* illustrate this For Weston, food is a sacred symbol identified, at the Christian level, with the sacramental meal For Still it symbolizes a temptation aimed at deflecting an initiate from his course Food in *The Waste Land* accompanies triviality, debasement, or sexual temptation The coffee in the Hofgarten is part of a devitalized world "Hot gammon" brings together Lil, Albert, and their equivocal friend There is no meal in the first part of "A Game of Chess," but in the original draft of the poem there was a "passage about a fashionable lady having breakfast in bed,"<sup>6</sup> which we may suspect would have paralleled "hot gammon" Bottles and sandwich papers accompanied the amours of "loitering heirs" Mr Eugenides, a pocketful of currants as samples, invites the protagonist (or initiate) to "luncheon Followed by a weekend at the Metropole" The seduction of the typist occurs after "The meal is ended" If we invoke the idea of contemporary degeneration so characteristic of *The Waste Land*,

confusions of historical time, incidents widely dispersed geographically or culturally, the use of associative techniques, changing *dramatis personae*, and in metrical variety

<sup>4</sup> Ezra Pound's word He spoke appreciatively of 'outline' in *The Waste Land*

<sup>5</sup> There is, of course, a good deal of Christian reference in *The Waste Land*, but it is seldom specifically sacramental

<sup>6</sup> T S Eliot as quoted by Hugh Kenner, *The Invisible Poet* (London, 1960), p 126

"food in tins" will appear as the debasement of a sacred symbol.<sup>7</sup> Where, then, there is loss of vitality Eliot is close to Weston, but where, and this is more often, there is temptation or licence, he parallels Still.

For Still, the mysteries figure spiritual progress, described as an ascent through the elements, from EARTH to WATER to AIR to FIRE.<sup>8</sup> FIRE is alternatively described as AETHER or WATER ABOVE EARTH and WATER are the passional planes. He posits three intermediary stages, MIRE, MIST, and the RING OF FIRE. These seven terms can describe the successive "shedding" after death of the bodies which vest the soul, or, more important for our purposes, "a movement of the consciousness through all the planes upon which it can function."<sup>9</sup> The advantage to *The Waste Land* of such a system is that it is both suggestive and noncommittal. In Kenner's phrase, there is a "functional obscurity"<sup>10</sup> in the poem and, similarly, Eliot's concerned noncommitment demands images that are uncircumscribed. Where the Tarot and the Fisher King are artificial symbols, the elements are natural ones and have varying planes of meaning enshrined in them. Still's symbols fit better with a naturally apprehended tradition than the esoteric and less immediate Fisher King complex.

All the same, Still's meanings are often esoteric. There are two paradises in his elemental ascent. In Greek mythology the soul, after death, quits earth, crosses the Stygian water to Elysium, Lower Paradise, "always described as a place of clear *Air*," ascending after purification to Celestial Paradise "essentially a place of *Fire*."<sup>11</sup> Still argues, from "universal tradition," that a soul attaining only Lower Paradise returns to the physical body (EARTH). If it reaches Celestial Paradise it need not reincarnate. In terms of earthly experience, Lower Paradise is the plane of reason, the Celestial, of intuition. On the plane of reason, truth is received through sound or the voice, the medium appropriate to AIR, while truth through intuition comes through light or vision, the medium appropriate to

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *Coriolan* I *Triumphal March* ll. 44-46, for a later and more explicit example of the same kind.

<sup>8</sup> Capitalization follows a useful habit of Still's.

<sup>9</sup> Still, p. 98.

<sup>10</sup> Kenner, p. 137.

<sup>11</sup> Still, p. 90. Still's italics.

AETHER Physical vision is not implied Still connects "mystic" with the Greek *myo*, "to close the eyes"

Applying this pattern to *The Waste Land*, the poem begins on the plane of EARTH, "the dead land," "dull roots," "earth" covered in forgetful snow, "stony rubbish" I will postpone discussing the Hyacinth garden, noting only that its tone is radically different from the rest of "The Burial of the Dead" and that the protagonist is "Looking into the heart of light, the silence" We move immediately to the plane of WATER, "*Oed' und leer das Meer*," and stay there for most of the poem The crowd flowing over London Bridge, "ships at Mylae," Cleopatra's Nile progress, dolphin, seawood, "Those are pearls that were his eyes," "The hot water at ten," "if it rains," "Goodnight, ladies," all keep us on the plane of WATER "The Fire Sermon" is characterized by water, "river's tent," "wet bank," "Sweet Thames," "waters of Leman," "dull canal," Mrs Porter's soda water, "sailor home from sea," "This music crept by me upon the waters," "Lower Thames Street," "fishmen," sweating river, "turning tide" and "brisk swell," the Thames Maidens, "Margate Sands," and "Carthage" Only in the final lines does fire enter "The Fire Sermon" Immediately, in "Death by Water," the imagery of water returns and is maintained through "What the Thunder Said," principally by reference to its absence or imminence "no water," "rock without water," "cannot spit," "A spring / A pool," the hermit-thrush's song, "empty cisterns and exhausted wells," "damp gust / Bringing rain," "black clouds," "The sea was calm," "Fishing, with the arid plain behind me" We associate the possibility of rain with thunder When it finally speaks, we have reached the plane of AIR where truth through reason is received through sound or voice The poem now embodies words from contexts of order and reason, "*Datta, dayadhvam, damyata*" (Give, sympathize, control), "age of prudence," "obituaries," "beneficent spider," "seals broken by the lean solicitor," "key," "prison," "hand expert with sail and oar," "beating obedient / To controlling hands," and the protagonist sets his lands in order The initiate has reached Lower Paradise, glimpsing with Arnaut Daniel the joy he hopes for (*lo joï qu'esper*),<sup>12</sup> to be attained through refining fire (*nel foco che gli affina*) He cannot yet sing as the swal-

<sup>12</sup> *Purgatorio* xxvi, l44

low, and the cycle reasserts itself with the ruined tower and "Hieronymo's mad againe" He does not go back untouched, but with the substance of the poem assimilated, "the arid plain behind me" The elemental ascent, because an ascent through regions within us, is possible even in the Wasteland Thus the poem's course and outcome correspond to what Still calls Lesser Initiation, concerned with purgation from sin and leading to "that clarity of intellect which is self-finding and self-mastery"<sup>13</sup>

As well as echoing this elemental pattern, Eliot illustrates his protagonist's progress with detail occurring prominently in Still's account of the initiation rites The ordeals involve wandering through MIST, intermediary between WATER and AIR and symbolizing ERROR These ceremonies, Still argues, reverse the Fall, enabling the initiate to return to Eden, Lower Paradise Original sin is expiated by the conquest of desire, which, though not limited to it, includes sexual desire Still quotes *The Gospel of the Holy Twelve* "In all the ancient initiations woman was one of the temptations placed in the way of the aspirant" Buddha, he notes, was tempted by woman<sup>14</sup> After long wandering and conquered temptation the Lesser Initiation culminates "in a discourse upon the particular Mystery cherished by the cultus"<sup>15</sup> There is a progress of this kind in *The Waste Land*, but to see it clearly we must go back to the Hyacinth garden

If the poem depicts a journey we may reasonably ask what the impulse for the journey is Wasteland malaise provides a spur, but the Hyacinth garden incident gives the greater impetus Something happens here that the protagonist wants to regain He reacts as Dante does to Beatrice's appearance as Revelation (*Purgatorio*, xxx ff), an appearance compact of memories of earthly love but indicating spiritual love Dante too is deprived of sight

*E la disposizion che a veder èe  
negli occhi pur testé dal sol percossi,  
sanza la vista alquanto esser mi fée*<sup>16</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Still, p 58

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid* p 179

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid*, p 109

<sup>16</sup> *Purgatorio*, xxxii, 10-12 ('And the condition of eyes / just smitten by the sun / made me remain a while without vision, *The Divine Comedy*, trans H R Huse, New York, 1954)

The protagonist's silence has little to do with being unable to ask a question or with failure. It is the receiving silence of the attentive soul and, by nature, a temporary state. In Still's terms, it is the RING OF FIRE, the "closing of the eyes" preceding the plane of revelation, and occurs in the Greater Initiation. Still cites Themistius: "The man at the moment of approaching the innermost sanctuary was filled with a shuddering and a swimming in the head, and was held by dismay and complete perplexity, and was unable to take a step."<sup>17</sup> He also quotes Plato: "in consequence of the divine initiation we become spectators of entire, simple, immovable, and blessed visions."<sup>18</sup> The protagonist tries to regain this state. He does not succeed.

If Eliot's garden incident was influenced by these descriptions, its place at the beginning of the poem needs explaining. I suggest he could best demonstrate the fragmentary nature of the poem's conclusion if he also showed the fuller possibility. This was best indicated early, to allow the conclusion its own dignity of attainment, and also to give motive for search. Wagner's *Parsifal*, an opera of blinding realizations and memories, assisted. Because he is innocent, Parsifal sees the Grail and, having lost its sight, spends the whole opera trying to regain it. No such pattern emerges in the twelfth-century Grail material, not only because the plots are so involved, but also because the quest was usually unmotivated, since deliberate search for the Grail was thought bound to fail.

Deliberate search was, in fact, already sanctioned in Wolfram's *Parzival*,<sup>19</sup> but the general absence of motive clearly works against Weston's view of the Grail legends as accounts of initiation rites, since initiation such as she has in mind must be willed by the initiate. In an earlier book she had dealt with this problem by arguing that the quest "begins only when the hero, having failed at his first *unpremeditated* visit to the Castle . . . , sets out with the deliberate intention of finding the banished Temple of the Grail . . .",<sup>20</sup> and although, in *From Ritual to Romance*, she concentrates more on

<sup>17</sup> Still, p. 37.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 45-46, following Thomas Taylor.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Otto Springer in *Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages* ed. R. S. Loomis (Oxford, 1959), p. 241: "the German poet discards not only the ancient motif that the Grail castle must be found by mere chance but also the traditional notion that the redeeming question must arise unconsciously in the visitor."

<sup>20</sup> Jessie L. Weston, *The Quest of the Holy Grail* (London, 1913), p. 95. My italics.



the nature of the king than the psychology of the quester, she seems to assume the quest has motive. The assumption is surreptitious, but it is interesting that she makes it. Wagner stresses the motive both in musical structure, by using the Grail motif in the Prelude, and in the plot, with Parsifal's early sight of the Grail. For Weston and Wagner motive must precede search, and so too with Eliot. The Hyacinth garden provides quester and poem with the object of search and impulse to seek. In modern contexts, so sensitive to motive, search must be willed to be meaningful. Wagner had similar trouble with the question that Wolfram's Parzival has traditionally to ask to end the Fisher King's suffering. He writes "That business of the 'question' is quite absurd and meaningless. Here, therefore, I should just have to invent everything for myself."<sup>21</sup> For Eliot it is the quester who suffers and he must ask the question of himself. Furthermore, the question is not curative but exploratory.

What are the roots that clutch, what branches grow  
Out of this stony rubbish?

The cure will be an answer, and in the sensory and occult searchings of the twenties, an answer is likely to be found in an experience. The poem seeks to prolong and stabilize the Hyacinth experience, to establish its truth by comprehending its pervasive relevance. The protagonist fails, but to begin at all, he needed this initial sense of his goal.

Immediately after the garden incident comes the desolation of "*Oed' und leer das Meer*." There is water in vision, "your hair wet," and in desolation, "*das Meer*." Still provides a basis for dual responses to one image by arguing that the initiate's "choice between divine and passion things" is depicted as a choice between two kinds of water and between two kinds of woman.<sup>22</sup> I have noted the extensive water imagery of the poem. This distinction explains why water is longed for, although there is so much already in the poem. Only at the beginning and in "What the Thunder Said" is water spoken of because it is not there. Clearly the image does operate on two levels. When water is not there we paraphrase as "lifegiving water." But from "*das Meer*" to Margate Sands the sense

<sup>21</sup> In a letter to Frau Wesendonk (quoted by Ernest Newman, *Wagner Nights* London, 1949, p. 694)

<sup>22</sup> Still, p. 229

is of Still's passional water, WATER BELOW contrasting with AETHER or WATER ABOVE. The type of water corresponds to a type of woman. Thus Still says, "The mythical Evil Woman is evidently a personification of the passional element (WATER)" and notes that Hebrew Tehom means "the Deep," Chaldean Thalath, "the Sea," the Great Whore of Revelation "sitteth upon many waters," and an exhortation, "Drink waters out of thine own cistern and rejoice in the wife of thy youth," occurs in Proverbs. Passional water is bittersweet and "*Mare* (the sea) is generally held to signify 'bitter-sweet'." Venus is associated with the sea.<sup>23</sup> Further, both Wanton Woman and Immaculate Woman "are symbolically depicted as a well or fountain, but whereas man drinks of the former the 'sweet-bitter' passional water, of the latter he drinks that 'living water' which is the Light of God."<sup>24</sup> Still cites *Purgatorio*, xxxi, 139-141, part of the Revelation context already noticed in connection with the Hyacinth garden, and the Wisdom of Solomon where the woman Wisdom is "an effulgence from everlasting light." A well image has become, with Still's tendency to equation, an image of light.

Applying this to *The Waste Land*, the hyacinth girl, her "hair wet," who is associated with the protagonist's looking into "the heart of light, the silence," corresponds to the WATER ABOVE, contrasting with "*das Meer*," the passional and bittersweet WATER BELOW (*Mare*). She also contrasts with the woman drawing "her long black hair out tight," where there are "voices singing out of empty cisterns and exhausted wells." Two of Still's allegorical equivalents for the initiate's temptations are "monstrous apparitions" encountered "in the dark vestibule of the temple" and sirens who bring ruin with sweet music. Both are hybrids, associated with water but encountered out of it.<sup>25</sup> The same compound of horror and sensuality occurs in

A woman drew her long black hair out tight  
 And fiddled whisper music on those strings  
 And bats with baby faces in the violet light  
 Whistled, and beat their wings  
 And crawled head downward down a blackened wall

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 194-195

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.* p 226

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 137-138

That Eliot has mentioned, as influencing this passage, Bosch, who portrays temptation in similarly horrific and hybrid terms, lends weight to this line of interpretation. An image of dissolution, reversal, and memory follows:

And upside down in air were towers  
Tolling reminiscent bells

"Empty cisterns and exhausted wells" recall by contrast the Hyacinth garden. Still's monsters are met during the purgatorial ascent into pure AIR, on a hill or mountain,<sup>26</sup> as in Eliot's poem.

It is convenient here to consider Still's remarks on music, which he usually associates with sirens or sensuous deception. He equates Caliban, who is monster and fish, both water-dwellers, with the "Tempter," connecting his name with the Greek *kalliboas*, "sweet-toned," and Calypso. Caliban makes "the most sensuous speech in the entire Play,"<sup>27</sup> and this is not accidental. Stephano and Trinculo, who "calf-like" follow Ariel's music (iv, 1) have fallen back into the sensuous WATER after listening to the Tempter Caliban. Only once does Still associate music with anything other than temptation. This is in commenting on Ferdinand's

Sitting on a bank,  
Weeping again the king my father's wreck,  
This music crept by me upon the waters,  
Allaying both their fury, and my passion,  
With its sweet air (I, 11)

where music allays passions and waters, and figures Ferdinand's entry into the tranquility of Lower Paradise. He finally achieves Celestial Paradise, symbolized by Miranda. Though he never says so explicitly, in a book leaving little to chance, Still seems to recognize two types of music, allaying and sirenic. Music in *The Waste Land* has this dual possibility, usually "passional," sometimes allaying. The explicit *Tempest* references in the poem are musical ones, and this suggests that Eliot, with his predilection for musical form and imagery, responded to this aspect of the play more fully than did Still.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 146

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.* p. 175. The speech is "The isle is full of noises" (*Tempest*, III, 11). Still prints ll. 133-141. This incorporates the "thousand twangling instruments" that "hum about Caliban's ears."

## II

I now propose a reading of *The Waste Land* in the light of Colin Still's *Shakespeare's Mystery Play*<sup>28</sup> There is in the poem a pattern corresponding in outline, imagery, and incidental material to Still's account of initiation into the Greek mystery religions The initiate is found in the Wasteland, but the question "What are the roots that clutch?" and his memory of the hyacinth girl, figuring a deep spiritual insight, provide motive for change The hyacinth girl is part of a recurring image in which women represent varying levels of spirituality Its highest level is the Mystic Marriage, the last stage of initiation, and indicating the aspirant's total union with truth<sup>29</sup> At another level the image indicates one of the principal temptations the initiate must overcome The garden experience, an insight into the upper reaches of the image, the WATER ABOVE, is followed by desolation, "*Oed' und leer das Meer*," indicating the initiate's actual situation in the passional WATER BELOW In trying to regain the Hyacinth garden sight, the initiate is helped by the workings of conscience Still associates Ariel with conscience, though there are analogies with Hermes the Wind God, Greek *pneuma* and Hebrew *ruach*, both meaning "spirit" or "wind" He notes that those to whom the spirit comes see "tongues parting asunder, like as of fire," comparing this with Ariel's shipwreck appearances as flame dividing and burning "in many places" This bears on the final lines of "The Fire Sermon," but the wind image appears first alongside the Hyacinth garden, "*Frisch weht der Wind*," bringing thoughts of the girl from whom the sailor is separated

Still quotes a passage from Proclus which parallels this entire context and would assign to it the psychological pattern implied in the mysteries

As the Mystae in the holiest of their initiations meet first with a multi-form and manifold race of gods, but when entered into the sanctuary and surrounded by holy ceremonies receive at once divine illumination in their bosom and like lightly armed warriors take quick possession of the

<sup>28</sup> The following section is in no sense offered as an exclusive account of the poem, but as an account in the light of Still and the mysteries The main interpretations and descriptions given of these rites are Still's Still has no account of the Grail legends or the Tarot Wherever else I have introduced material that is not in Still I have been careful to indicate the fact

<sup>29</sup> Still, p. 77

Divine, the same thing happens at the intuition of the One and All. If the soul looks to what is behind, it sees the shadows and illusion only of what is. If it turns into its own essence and discovers its own relations, it sees itself only, but, if penetrating more deeply into the knowledge of itself, it discovers the spirit in itself and in all orders of things. And, if it reaches into its inmost recess, as it were into the Adyton (sanctuary) of the soul, it can see the race of gods and the unities of all things even with closed eyes<sup>30</sup>

The parallels are "meet first with a multiform and manifold race of gods"—"A heap of broken images", "when entered into the sanctuary"—"under the shadow of this red rock", "If the soul looks to what is behind, it sees the shadows and illusion only of what is"—"Your shadow at morning striding behind you", "it discovers the spirit in itself"—"*Frisch weht der Wind*", "if it reaches into its inmost recess, the (sanctuary) of the soul"—"the Hyacinth garden", "it can see the unities of all things even with closed eyes"—"my eyes failed / and I knew nothing, / Looking into the heart of light, the silence" "Or your shadow at evening rising to meet you" parallels "If it turns into its own essence and discovers its own relations, it sees itself only" This is not apparently exact, but the correspondence, first inferred from the ascending triad of spiritual recognitions which both Proclus and Eliot use here, becomes clearer with Eliot's comment on "*Dayadhvam*"

We think of the key, each in his prison  
Thinking of the key, each confirms a prison  
Only at nightfall

At "nightfall" ("evening") isolative introspection is greatest, and the soul "sees itself only"—"your shadow at evening rising to meet you"

The initiate consults Madame Sosostriis. Still, glossing Alonso's "some oracle / Must rectify our knowledge" (v, 1), points out that consulting the oracle was an auxiliary of initiation. As far as I can determine, he sees it as being available at the end of the Lesser Initiation. If we need suppose Eliot was influenced by this detail in more than a general way, he has either transposed it for dramatic effect or does, in fact, see the garden incident as an initiation. The

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 112-113. Still is here following Max Muller, *Theosophy Or Psychological Religion*, Gifford Lectures for 1892 (London, 1893), Lecture XIII.

quotations ending the poem are distinctly oracular and occur at the end of the Lesser Initiation. The initiate is there his own oracle. He knows nothing surer, but at least Madame Sosostris is superseded.

Now, however, she foretells the main line of his progress. Weston indicates that the Grail secrets could not be revealed to women,<sup>81</sup> which is why Madame Sosostris is forbidden to see what the merchant carries. If the merchant is the Tarot Fool (hence "one-eyed"), he carries in a sack on his back, to judge from Ouspensky's *A New Model of the Universe*,<sup>82</sup> the four magic symbols, wand, cup, sword, and pentacle symbolizing fire, water, air, and earth. "The fool always carries them with him, but he does not understand what they mean."<sup>83</sup> The fool is individual man, Ouspensky's observer.

"Do you not see that is you, yourself?"

And with a thrill of horror, I felt that this also was I

This amalgamation is reminiscent of Eliot's notes on Tiresias and the Tarot, and if Eliot is not following a suggestion of Ouspensky's here, they would at least seem to draw on the same suggestive source, which is not, at this point, Still. Nevertheless, Still's use of Christ's "The Kingdom of Heaven is within you," as meaning that images of the afterworld may also be used to describe stages of spiritual realization on earth,<sup>84</sup> finds some parallel in the fool always possessing the elemental symbols. Initiation explains their meaning. It is interesting that Ouspensky equates the Grail symbols, as they appear in Weston and the Tarot, with Still's elemental symbols.

Madame Sosostris cannot find the Hanged Man (Christ or the

<sup>81</sup> Weston, *From Ritual to Romance* [1920] (New York, 1957), pp. 137-138.

<sup>82</sup> P. D. Ouspensky, *A New Model of the Universe* (London, 1931). In 1911 Ouspensky had written *The Symbolism of the Tarot* but this is not listed in either the Library of Congress or the British Museum catalogues, nor have I been able to trace the publishing history elsewhere. However, in *A New Model of the Universe* p. 222, he mentions as an ultimate source for his pen picture of the Tarot Fool, Papus, *Le Tarot des Bohémiens* which was translated by A. P. Morton as *The Tarot of the Bohemians* (London, 1892), a second, revised edition, with a preface by H. E. Waite, appearing in London in 1910. I have not been able to consult this, but it might have served as a source common to Ouspensky and Eliot.

<sup>83</sup> Ouspensky, p. 227. (The quotation from Ouspensky immediately following also occurs on this page.)

<sup>84</sup> Still, p. 92.

Hanged God) because Celestial Paradise or Truth is not in the initiate's cards "Fear death by water" may mean she does not realize the importance of death by water for spiritual ascent But more probably she means, "fear passional water," that is, temptation The imperative, "Look!", after "Those are pearls that were his eyes," may emphasize that there are modes of sight even when the physical fails The "crowds of people, walking round in a ring," suggest Eleusinian ritual wanderings "One must be so careful" reflects the secrecy of the mysteries

The initiate begins his wanderings, crossing London Bridge in fog Still invariably associates mist with darkness and purgatory, citing, for instance, Odysseus who "crosses the sea to the City of the Cimmerians, *a city of darkness, enveloped in mist and cloud*, and here encounters the shades of the dead This city, beyond the water, may be likened to the purgatorial region, beyond the River Styx"<sup>35</sup> Stetson is another initiate, in a corpse-burying cultus The Dog could be Mithra's, which helps him capture the bull from whose corpse all vegetable forms spring and whose soul, protected by the Dog, ascends into the celestial spheres and receives "the honors of divinity"<sup>36</sup> None of this is mentioned in Still where, instead, dogs symbolize terrestrial daemons, aiming to terrorize and divert the aspirant In the first hymn of Synesius matter "barks" at the soul This seems appropriate to the Isle of Dogs reference in "The Fire Sermon" If it has any bearing in "The Burial of the Dead," Stetson is trying to promote fertility and must keep the Dog (capitalized because a daemon) away lest he disturb growth "Friend to men" would be ironic since, if growth is prevented, Stetson will not suffer the rigors of ascent, a mistaken act of friendship In Still's account of the Eleusinian cultus the buried seed is the soul buried in the physical body It is waked from EARTH to AIR by initiation

"A Game of Chess" and "The Fire Sermon" embody attempts to deflect the initiate After meeting Stetson, the initiate visits the woman in the first half of "A Game of Chess," who tries to distract, perhaps seduce him We know he does not succumb because he later continues his journey He is preserved by preoccupation with

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.* p. 145 Still's italics

<sup>36</sup> Franz Cumont, *The Mysteries of Mithra* trans. T. J. McCormack (Chicago, 1903), pp. 135-137

his search—"What are you thinking of?", by conscience—"The wind under the door,"—even though, as yet, defective—"What is the wind doing? / Nothing again nothing"—and by memory of the garden where his "eyes failed," he "was neither / Living nor dead," and "knew nothing" The memory returns in

I remember

Those are pearls that were his eyes

'Are you alive, or not? Is there nothing in your head?'

The same memory ("Those are pearls") had been touched by Madame Sosostrius "O O O O that Shakespeherian Rag" involves complex association with *The Tempest* The initiate remembers the song (rag) "Full fathom five," therefore "death by water" But Still stresses Shakespeare's five references to the improvement that immersion in sea water has on clothes, "our garments being rather new-dyed, than stained with salt water" (II, I) "O O O O that Shakespeherian Rag [garment]—/ It's so elegant" The initiate thinks of the improvement caused by immersion, again "death by water" Still produces a reading for the "glistering apparel" of *The Tempest*, IV, I, relevant here and in "The Fire Sermon" He demonstrates from Stephano's line, "Now, jerkin, you are like to lose your hair and prove a bald jerkin," that at least one of the garments is made of skin, and then, using Genesis 3:21

Unto Adam also and to his wife did the Lord God make  
coats of skins, and clothed them

he argues that the "glistering apparel" represents a temptation to descend to the plane of EARTH, where such clothing is worn He refers to a Gnostic tradition that "Man had no fleshly body when he dwelt in the Lower Paradise or Eden before the Fall,"<sup>37</sup> interpreting Origen's statement that "the garments of Adam and Eve after the trespass are *our fleshly bodies*" in this way<sup>38</sup> If "that Shakespeherian Rag" is Still's "glistering apparel," it indicates man at the lowest stage of his ascent The initiate remembers the Shakespeherian Rag as a warning against descent or feels temptation Later the typist's "drying combinations touched by the sun's last

<sup>37</sup> Still, p. 189

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.* p. 190 Still's italics



rays" are similar "glistening apparel," and the context of the lowest stage of spiritual ascent

Needing relief from the neurotic impress of the woman's room and talk, the initiate goes down to the pub and listens to the conversation. For the initiate, this is not temptation so much as its simulation. According to Still, simulated temptation is a means of testing the initiate.<sup>39</sup> The plane is still passional, Ophelia's song indicating, as well as death by drowning, the simple presence of water. In "The Fire Sermon" the initiate finds himself by the Thames in a world of EARTH and WATER where conscience is not listened to. "The wind / Crosses the brown land, unheard." Still equates Miranda's "Four or five women once that tended me" (I, II) with the nymphs attending Persephone before her Fall. "The nymphs are departed"—a repeated half-line—indicates then, on one plane, the absence of Truth and her attendants. The repetition is passional. The initiate starts fishing. This does not make him the Fisher King incidentally, but just brings him to mind. Analogy with Chrétien, Wolfram, and Wagner would make the initiate the hermit-brother at this point. "The king my brother" would be Amfortas, his "wreck" his sick condition. The father would be Frimutel or Titurel, and Alonso as well, *Tempest* and Grail, as Cleanth Brooks suggests, being brought together.<sup>40</sup> The word "brother" is read most usefully as "fellow-member of a community," the sense in which it occurs commonly in Grail discussion. It parallels Baudelaire's "*mon frère*," and the implication is that we may all, being brothers, become similarly wrecked. Wagner's Grail Company lost its vitality and King Titurel had died, deprived of the life-giving Grail, because Amfortas succumbed to Kundry's advances. Here then, the initiate ponders loss of purpose and vitality through indulgence, the danger besetting every initiate. Under "the brown fog," temptation continues, with the food-offering homosexual Mr Eugenides. Again we know the initiate resists because he continues his journey. But then, having resisted sexual temptation from man and woman, he becomes Tiresias to whom

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.* p. 109. His case is first stated here but developed more fully later. The point of the simulation was "to give ceremonial expression to a subjective experience" (p. 148). This comment is made in reference to the use of mechanical monsters in the rites.

<sup>40</sup> Cleanth Brooks, *Modern Poetry and the Tradition* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1939), p. 151.

Clement of Alexandria, exhorting the Greeks to follow true not false mysteries, had written

Come to me, old man, come thou too! Quit Thebes, fling away thy prophecy and Bacchic revelry and be led by the hand to truth Behold, I give thee the wood of the cross to lean upon Hasten, Teiresias, believe! Thou shalt have sight Thou shalt see heaven, old man, though thou canst not see Thebes O truly sacred mysteries! O pure light! In the blaze of the torches I have a vision of heaven and of God I become holy by initiation The Lord reveals the mysteries If thou wilt, be thyself also initiated, and thou shalt dance with angels around the unbegotten and imperishable and only true God, the Word of God joining with us in our hymn of praise<sup>41</sup>

This is not in Still, but if Tiresias is introduced in some such sense as this, he contributes to the mystery pattern, perhaps indicating its summation and limitation Androgynous and blind, he knows the Wasteland's problem, figured again in the sex without savor of typist and clerk, but he can only watch "The stairs unlit" replace "the heart of light," and the typist's record, again music linked with misled senses, reminds the initiate of the higher music which calms Ferdinand, creeping by him "'upon the waters'" We are still on the WATERY level and proceed to Lower Thames Street, where "Lower" has its weight The "fishmen" recall Caliban and the passional music, "The pleasant whining of a mandoline" recalls the "thousand twangling instruments" of "the most sensuous speech" of the play In the description of Magnus Martyr, "Ionian" is neither casual nor merely architectural, but, like Tiresias, synecdochic for the Greek world, particularly its advanced spiritual manifestation in the mysteries, something "inexplicable" which Eliot sees as subsumed in Christianity

the walls

Of Magnus Martyr hold

Inexplicable splendour of Ionian white and gold

Magna Mater gives way to Magnus Martyr, a saint who, like Augustine, left excess for sanctity

The poem's pace quickens The initiate, having resisted tempta-

<sup>41</sup> Clement of Alexandria, *Exhortation to the Greeks* trans G W Butterworth (London, 1919), chap xii, p 257

tion, is ready for the ritual immersion of the mysteries. The Thames journey, in terms of boats, seductions, and the colors white, red, and gold (indicating liturgically innocence, martyrdom, divinity, and alchemically, ascension to glory through revelation and suffering)<sup>42</sup> is achieved in lines of gathered tempo. The tide turns, the Isle of Dogs, dogs still howling, is passed. Whereas typist and clerk were minutely observed, the seductions now are swift, the poet indifferent to them except as devices to reach the sea, from Richmond to Moor-gate, beaching finally on Margate sands, not on the "yellow sands" of the song that allays Ferdinand. But this does not end "The Fire Sermon." The siren song, the Thames maidens' truncated "la-la," is overwhelmed by fire. Again the image is ambiguous. St Augustine's fire is "a cauldron of unholy loves" and Buddha's, "the fire of passion."<sup>43</sup> But part at least of Eliot's fire is purifying. Following Eliot's note, we must read "Burning burning burning burning" as the fire of passion, but with Still's aid we can interpret the solitary and final "burning," three lines later, as referring to the plane of FIRE. The realization "O Lord Thou pluckest me out" makes possible the transition, but the entry of the fire image is admonition not completion. The ascetics enter the poem to teach. As Still says, "the Soul can reincarnate at will from FIRE, and when it does so a great religious teacher, such as Buddha, is born into the world."<sup>44</sup> From here on the pattern of *The Waste Land* is very close to Still's description of the mysteries. "The pagan aspirant was immersed in the sea, ascended thence to wander on the dark and deserted seashore, and finally received the mystery in an oral communication."<sup>45</sup> The monstrous apparitions have been discussed. In their wandering, candidates held torches, and in *The Waste Land* torchlight is "red on sweaty faces." The sand of the seashore becomes Eliot's "sandy road" in the mountains. This helps associations with Christ's temptation in the wilderness, seen by Still as an initiation, and which physically, as well as spiritually, involved

<sup>42</sup> Cf. George Ferguson, *Signs and Symbols in Christian Art* [1954] (New York, 1961), pp. 152-153, and J. E. Cirlot, *A Dictionary of Symbols*, trans. Jack Sage (London, 1962), p. 53. The alchemical equivalents are not exclusive, but, in any case, the series white-red-gold denotes the path of spiritual ascension. Still does not discuss colors.

<sup>43</sup> Buddha's "Fire Sermon" in *Buddhism in Translation*, trans. Henry Clarke Warren (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), p. 352.

<sup>44</sup> Still, p. 91.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.* p. 125.

ascent, the wilderness, in Still's word, being "superjacent" to the Jordan <sup>46</sup>

One important parallel remains. Still retells the story of Arduizur and Zarathustra.

The youth Ardujasp encounters a veiled virgin beside a spring. Her name, she tells him, is Arduizur, which is the name of the spring itself, and means "Fountain of Light", and she adds that he who drinks of this water will be parched by unquenchable thirst. He, unthinking, drinks at the spring, and later, losing the maiden as it seems for ever, thirsts ardently for her. He takes counsel of the venerable priest Vahumano, who renames him Zarathustra, and sends him to dwell in solitude in a cavern on the mountain-side. Here Zarathustra remained for ten years in lonely meditation. The daemons of the destroying Ahrimane, temptations and terrors, assailed him in the forms of hideous creatures and winged serpents, which filled him with self-doubt and fear for his mission. Zarathustra prayed fervently, but Ormuz came not, and the monsters grew yet more horrible. The shade of a veiled woman now appeared to him, bending over him with burning breath, then leaving him, still veiled and mute. Three nights later Ormuz, the Word, came at last to the seeker in a voice of thunder that was yet a melodious murmur. Zarathustra now returned to preach with a new and strong authority to his people. <sup>47</sup>

This is as far as Eliot's initiate gets, to the plane of AIR. He hears the voice of thunder and makes an oracular pronouncement. Of the plane of FIRE or AETHER there are only "aethereal rumours." Zarathustra later achieves Celestial Paradise, mystic marriage with Arduizur. Similarly, in the Eleusinian mysteries, sexual relations were simulated, and the initiate sang "I have born [*sic*] the mystic cup, I have entered into the bed" <sup>48</sup>. This consummation is echoed in the "Damyata" gloss where Eliot brings into harmonious conjunction the images of boats and the sexual act from "The Fire Sermon," recalling the joy of the Hyacinth garden and, in the initiate's renewed, if partial, clarity, anticipation that such joy might again occur.

### III

Still, then, is behind *The Waste Land*. In particular, he helped Eliot see fuller possibilities in Weston's progression from vegetation

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 227-228. My italics.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid* p. 115, quoting Thomas Taylor quoting Psellus. Still's italics.

rite through mystery to Grail. Miss Weston once called the Grail quest "an initiation *manqué*,"<sup>49</sup> but Still's Lesser Initiation has its own dignity and is no failure. Eliot needed an interim pattern, itself complete, but open to further ascent. But ascent implies difference or degree. Without a pattern like Still's, *The Waste Land* could have become a static accumulation of parallels, mood without movement. The properties of the ancient rites need something to give them total, not merely local, relevance. This is the value of Still's elemental correspondences.

Again, his scheme was comprehensive enough to link with other patterns of aspiration. In one of his many references to Dante, Still mentions Rossetti's account of *The Divine Comedy* as initiation.<sup>50</sup> This suggests another connection between the materials of *The Waste Land*. Bishop Warburton had argued that *Aeneid* vi describes an initiation. Aeneas's descent to the Underworld began at Cumæ, and the Cumæan Sibyl appears in the epigraph to *The Waste Land*. She yearns to die, and Still, commenting on Warburton, argues that "in the ceremonies of formal admission to the pagan Mysteries the candidate passed, by ritual representation, through the abodes of the dead."<sup>51</sup> In "The Burial of the Dead," Eliot's protagonist watches the crowd flow over London Bridge. He "had not thought death had undone so many." His situation links him with Aeneas as well as with Dante.

Eliot might have been struck by another coincidence when he read the story of Rishyaçrîṅga in *From Ritual to Romance*.<sup>52</sup> It suggests forcibly that the remote source for *The Tempest* must be a folk tale based on a vegetation myth. Given Weston's hypothesis, this would, in turn, connect the play's scheme with the initiation rites and the Grail legends. Eliot may have used *The Tempest* to link the three major forms of the pattern that appear in *The Waste Land*, carefully indicating its pervasive importance by direct quotation.

Still's book, the intermediate and decisive source, is not men-

<sup>49</sup> In 1913 *The Quest of the Holy Grail* p. 95.

<sup>50</sup> Still, p. 33.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16. Still uses Bishop Warburton, *The Divine Legation of Moses* (London, 1738), Part II (London, 1741) extensively.

<sup>52</sup> Pp. 30-31 where the story is retold from Leopold von Schroeder, *Mysterium und Mimus im Rigveda* (Leipzig, 1908). The sexes are reversed in that the hero, not the heroine, is brought up ignorant of the outside world.

tioned in Eliot's notes, nor is it meant openly to direct our reading of his poem. Once we know of its presence, it largely confirms and, to an extent, acts as a control upon what we might have understood in any case, more a frame we had unconsciously acknowledged than something pointed up in the "finish" of the poem. This is deliberate on Eliot's part. Still's book was the work of an enthusiast and Eliot was not prepared to guide his critics to it. *The Waste Land* was a likely enough target for the critics already. Instead he headed them off to the prize-winning Weston and the monumental Frazer, the right sort of people. Still's exaggerated but early exercise in archetypal analysis was kept hidden and Eliot made amends when he could—in 1930.

At the same time it is hardly necessary to suppose that Eliot was himself conscious of all his parallels with Still. Some of the material could have come across undeliberated, chance detail borne along with the symbolic scheme flooding the poem, finding echoes and confirmations in Eliot's reading and temperament. The book's major attitudes would have found a ready and conscious response with Eliot, nowhere more so than when Still sees moral opposites contained under a single image. That water and women may be celestial or passionate provides an apt equivalent for Eliot's distrust of the world's appearance. A man who defines and prefers to use the "objective correlative," prefers juxtaposition to clear narrative connection, to contemplate velleity rather than action, to merge or multiply personality rather than locate it, is attempting all the time to frustrate his contacts with the world because he is uncertain of its nature, relevance, and worth. Language is used as a partial removal from the world, rather than as a means of identifying it. As his certainties increase he still moves along this rejective path. His Christianity is achieved in terms of the *via negativa* of mystical theology, and his poetry is used mainly to determine the distance he has traveled along its line. The further he goes, the more poetry itself is seen as a condition of the world and so to be transcended. Silence is an odd recourse for a poet, but inevitable where his medium distracts from the uniate vision of *Four Quartets*. It is also inevitable that Eliot's major poetic problems will concern language. His early reaction against contemporary diction is the opening thrust in a gigantic self-wounding to be completed in a denial of

language itself and of his own species. In such a scheme *The Waste Land* appears as part of a continual refining, its proximate aim to transcend the passional. At the poem's close, Eliot indicates his confidence in his medium, the word, or in Still's terms, reaches the plane of AIR. Language is a ladder by which he may climb higher. It will, in its turn, be thrown away.

## NOTES AND QUERIES

### *A Note on the Burke-Paine Controversy*

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IN HIS PREFACE TO THE 1894 PUTNAM EDITION of *The Rights of Man*, Moncure Conway wrote, "So far as Burke attempts to affirm any principle he is fairly quoted in Paine's work, and nowhere misrepresented." Despite both the subsequent vilification of Paine and resurgence of interest in his writings, little has been said to cast doubt on that statement. Yet a close reading of *The Rights of Man* alongside of the *Reflections on the Revolution in France* reveals something to the contrary. For Burke opens his argument with the protestation that he is a friend to liberty, but a "moral, regulated liberty," a liberty that is not to be confused with irresponsible and criminal lack of restraint.

The circumstances are what render every civil and political scheme beneficial or noxious to mankind. Abstractedly speaking, government, as well as liberty, is good, yet could I, in common sense, ten years ago, have felicitated France on her enjoyment of a government, (for she then had a government,) without inquiry what the nature of that government was, or how it was administered? Can I now congratulate the same nation upon its freedom? Is it because liberty in the abstract may be classed amongst the blessings of mankind, that I am seriously to felicitate a madman who has escaped from the protecting restraint and wholesome darkness of his cell on his restoration to the enjoyment of light and liberty?<sup>1</sup>

The answer to the first, as well as to the second and third rhetorical question is, of course, no! Paine's own "common sense" dictates it. One can no more praise a government without inquiring into its nature than one can praise liberty without inquiring into its nature. Yet Paine seizes upon this paragraph to make one of

<sup>1</sup> *The Writings and Speeches of Edmund Burke* (Boston, 1901), III, 240-241. I have verified the passage and the presence of the question mark in all the 1790-1791 printings of the *Reflections* held by the Library of Congress. I think there is little chance that Paine read a copy without a question mark after "administered."



his more dramatic attacks upon Burke's slavish and unquestioning subservience to authority

But Mr Burke appears to have no idea of principles, when he is contemplating government "Ten years ago," says he, "I could have felicitated France on her having a government, without enquiring what the nature of that government was, or how it was administered"

Is this the language of a rational man? Is it the language of a heart feeling as it ought to feel for the rights and happiness of the human race? On this ground, Mr Burke must compliment every government in the world, while the victims who suffer under them, whether sold into slavery, or tortured out of existence, are wholly forgotten

It is power, and not principles, that Mr Burke venerates, and under this abominable depravity, he is disqualified to judge between them<sup>2</sup>

A palpable hit, but a totally false and unjustifiable one For Paine, by misquoting, and making a question into a statement, has simply made Burke say the opposite of what he really said Poor Tom Paine has received so much abuse that it seems a shame<sup>3</sup> to add to it, but it is necessary to remember that he was a propagandist first, a philosopher afterward, and like any good propagandist he was not above misquoting an enemy to further his purposes

Yet readers of Conway's optimistic carelessness continue to support his generalization In 1963 R B Browne put together a book of readings, bibliography, and suggestions for writing called *The Burke-Paine Controversy Texts and Criticism* It includes the major part of the *Reflections* and *The Rights*, along with Burke's question which Paine makes into a statement, and in the "Suggestions for Written Assignments" at the back there is the following

19 Burke says that ten years before the Revolution he could have "felicitated France on her enjoyment of a government (for she then had a government) without enquiry what the nature of that government was, or how it was administered" Why does Paine say that in making that statement Burke "appears to have no idea of principles"?<sup>4</sup>

Thus we find Paine's misquotation becoming a part of the general American view of Burke, if not the historical record I hope it is not too late to try to straighten out the question of who had what

<sup>2</sup> *The Complete Writings of Thomas Paine*, ed Philip Foner (New York, 1945), I, 258

<sup>3</sup> New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, p. 225

principles It can be said for Paine that he wrote *The Rights* in feverish haste, but perhaps it is better not to read it in the same fashion

### Poe's "The Conqueror Worm"

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IN THEIR ESTIMATES OF "THE CONQUEROR WORM" critics have differed more widely than in its interpretation Henry Beck Hirst, in 1848, pitied Poe for writing it "We remember his story or poem precisely as we would recall a cancer or tumor under which we had suffered, with feelings of absolute pain, terror and horror, if not disgust"<sup>1</sup> Stedman held that it verges "on the melodramatic",<sup>2</sup> Brownell thought it "less successful in being more a *tour de force* though it is certainly a spirited piece of *voulu* pessimism",<sup>3</sup> Quinn found it "very uneven in its merit,"<sup>4</sup> while Woodberry praised it as a "fine poem" of "flawless art"<sup>5</sup> and Alterton-Craig saw in it "a poem of great poetic skill"<sup>6</sup> Ingram, following Poe's own judgment, ranked it among his best poetry<sup>7</sup> It was probably Kent who originated the idea that the five stanzas "correspond roughly to the five acts of a play"<sup>8</sup> Fagin interpreted the poem as a five-act play, with a Greek chorus and a "Doctor, as in medieval morality, summarizing the significance"<sup>9</sup> Swanson emphasized the "theater as a controlling image" but argued against Fagin's conception of a

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in *The Poems of Edgar Allan Poe* ed Killis Campbell (Boston, 1917), p 243—hereinafter referred to as *Poems*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>3</sup> W C Brownell, *American Prose Masters* ed Howard Mumford Jones (Cambridge, Mass, 1963), p 149

<sup>4</sup> Arthur Hobson Quinn, *Edgar Allan Poe A Critical Biography* (New York, 1941), p 391

<sup>5</sup> *Poems* p 243

<sup>6</sup> *Edgar Allan Poe Representative Selections* ed Margaret Alterton and Hardin Craig (New York, 1935), p 500

<sup>7</sup> *Poems* p 243

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>9</sup> N Bryllion Fagin, *The Historic Mr Poe* (Baltimore, 1949), pp 150 151

five-act structure<sup>10</sup> Before offering another explanation, a glance at parallels suggested by Campbell may be helpful An incidental treatment of the theme is seen in three lines of "The Sleeper," to which can be added three of the earlier "Irene"

My love, she sleeps! Oh, may her sleep,  
As it is lasting, so be deep!  
Soft may the worms about her creep!<sup>11</sup>

The lady sleeps oh! may her sleep  
*As it is lasting* so be deep—  
*No icy* worms about her creep!<sup>12</sup>

The icy worms are of course Byron's They are inoffensive romantic vermin, forgetful of their purpose, offspring from a hardier stock of Elizabethan and baroque ancestors They are expected to move about the dead lady as gently as Shelley's "crawling worms were cradling her / To a sleep more deep and so more sweet / Than a baby's rocked on its nurse's knee,"<sup>13</sup> and therefore cannot be compared with the worm as conqueror Nor can Poe's prose poems "Silence—A Fable" and "Shadow—A Parable" be said to be more closely related to the piece in question Its title may well have been derived from Spencer Wallis Cone's "The Proud Ladye," in which the "warrior's corpse" is to meet "the conqueror worm, / With his good sword by his side"<sup>14</sup> The catching phrase, which recurs in Poe's later work, was apt to attract his fancy, beyond that, however, there is no connection between Cone's chivalric poem and Poe's phantasmagoria

With Poe, source hunting is at best only half satisfactory His raven is no longer Barnaby's Grip He transformed what he borrowed so as to make it completely his own The Poesque stamp on "The Conqueror Worm" is indeed strong enough to obscure the fact that the poem is in a tradition as old as Plato and continuous to our century The ancient commonplace of σντηνὴ πᾶς ὁ βίος, or

<sup>10</sup> Donald R. Swanson, "Poe's 'The Conqueror Worm,'" *Explicator* XIX, 52 (April, 1961); Vincent Buranelli, *Edgar Allan Poe* (New York, 1961), p. 99, avoids the issue, while Edward H. Davidson, *Poe: A Critical Study* (Cambridge, Mass., 1957), pp. 81-82, attempts a philosophical interpretation

<sup>11</sup> *Poems*, p. 66

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>13</sup> *The Complete Poetical Works of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, ed. Thomas Hutchinson (London, 1945), p. 173

<sup>14</sup> *Poems*, p. 242

*scena vitae*, at the back of Western thought since the days of Greece and Rome, was dramatized and expanded into a *theatrum mundi* by the Elizabethan and Jacobean poetic imagination. It became a convenient device to voice the struggle of life within the framework of a theocentric world picture. The topos was elaborated by Shakespeare, Griffin, Heywood, Raleigh, Drummond, Donne, and many others. The world was viewed as a theater, the earth as a stage, life as a play from womb to tomb, birth as the first act or prologue, death as the exit or epilogue, the grave as drawn curtains. "All men have parts" (Heywood),<sup>15</sup> kings and commons, "Rogues, Whores, Bawds" (Wilmot),<sup>16</sup> but also allegorized figures such as Passion, Rage, Folly, Vice (Wotton)<sup>17</sup> were allowed to act in the play, which could be a comedy, a history, a pageant, a mock show, or a tragedy. The spectators, sitting in "star-galleries," were "powers," God, or "Jehove" as "chief determiner," judging the players according to their sins or virtues. The apocalyptic extension of this drama of cosmic scope, though rare, was not lacking. "The world shall end like a comedy, and we shall meet at last in heaven," wrote Burton at the end of *The Anatomy of Melancholy*.<sup>18</sup> More conspicuously, the idea occurs in the first part of *Religio Medici*. Browne, who believed the world was drawing near its end, envisioned the Day of Judgment as "the day that must make good that great attribute of God, His Justice . . . that one day, that shall include and comprehend all that went before it, wherein, as in the last scene, all the Actors must enter to compleate and make up the Catastrophe of this great peece."<sup>19</sup>

Rather than deplore, as Brownell did, the "staginess" of "The Conqueror Worm," let us apply the topos to it. Again, although in greater detail than ever before, man's tragedy is enacted, again the theater is the universe. However, the eschatology is Poe's, not the Bible's, just as in "The Pit and the Pendulum" and "The Masque of the Red Death" written a year before. Men are no longer allowed

<sup>15</sup> *The Oxford Book of Seventeenth Century Verse*, ed H J C Grierson and G Bullough (Oxford, 1958), p 182

<sup>16</sup> *Collected Works of John Wilmot Earl of Rochester*, ed John Hayward (London, 1926), p 147

<sup>17</sup> *Oxford Book of Seventeenth Century Verse* p 80

<sup>18</sup> Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, ed Holbrook Jackson (London, 1932), III, 423

<sup>19</sup> *The Works of Sir Thomas Browne*, ed Geoffrey Keynes (London, 1964), I, 57

to act their individual parts according to their choice or station in life. They are lumped together as pitiable pantomimists in a farce, all equal and unspecified. Furthermore, the play is no longer watched by a judicious God that had formerly filled the stage with actors. The spectators, an "angel throng,"<sup>20</sup> are commiserating but incapable of interfering. Man is still created "in the form of God on high," but God, the omnipotent onlooker, has withdrawn. Ironically, the active powers behind the scenes are "formless." They determine the action of their "puppets," but must in their turn yield to the greater force of Death personified.

Thus far the commonplace appears considerably changed. But Poe gave it yet another twist. Around 1600, the traditional metaphor of the world as a stage had been filled with the Elizabethan scheme of creation from top to middle: God, the angels, man. In Poe's poem, the two dominating powers, the puppeteers and the Worm, wear the attributes of animals. The predatory quality of the latter is foreshadowed by the "Condor wings" of the former. These wings, from which flaps "invisible Wo," contrast sharply with the "bewinged" crowd of powerless seraphs. This means that the implied scale is destroyed. God's power, but not his justice, is taken over by "formless things" and "a crawling shape"; his place is moved down from the empyrean onto the stage. The angels retain their customary seats but lose their guardian function. The great chain is disrupted, its links are rearranged. The new order is the Conqueror Worm, "vast formless things," mimes. The angels, as witnesses, are outside the tragedy's action. It is in keeping with the topos that the "music of the spheres" should be heard. But here, too, is a characteristic alteration: the orchestra (which in Sir John Davies's famous poem epitomized the harmony of the universe, the congruity of things great and small) blows "fitfully," i.e., spasmodically, violently, intermittently. The "lute's well-tuned law," to speak in terms of "The Haunted Palace,"<sup>21</sup> has given way to "a discordant melody."

All this the commonplace behind the poem can teach us. Its existence should be recognized. Its recognition precedes, but does not replace, interpretation. The topos gives meaning to the otherwise rather pointless observation by Swanson: "The orchestra which

<sup>20</sup> Quotations follow the text of *Poems*, pp. 105-106.

<sup>21</sup> *Poems*, p. 103.

breathes 'fitfully,' suggests the mood of the drama presented. That its music is 'the music of the spheres' suggests, as does the angelic audience, that the play is universal in scope." This is true enough. But both the music and the angels are relics of a broken cosmic order with which Poe was well acquainted.

Further interpretation is badly needed. It should take into account the apocalyptic short stories "The Pit and the Pendulum" and "The Masque of the Red Death" as well as the allegory of the haunted palace, which structurally resembles "The Conqueror Worm." There are crucial questions as yet insufficiently answered. Who are the "vast formless things"? What is the "Phantom"? In what way do Madness, Sin, Horror function as the "soul of the plot"? Even the nature of the Worm seems to have presented difficulties. Some commentators, among them Quinn, have seen in it a symbol of the Serpent, the spirit of evil. This contention cannot well be refuted from the evidence of the poem alone. Yet the context of "Ligeia" into which Poe placed it—the motto, the heroine's desire for life, her significant question in the middle of the story together with the revivification scene at the end—would seem to make it abundantly clear that the author was not thinking of Satan but of personified Death. Within the tale, "The Conqueror Worm" dramatizes the seemingly unexceptionable lot of man which is, at least for a short while, overcome by Ligeia's will.

### *Usher's Madness and Poe's Organicism: A Source*

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WHEN POE REPRINTED "THE FALL OF THE HOUSE OF USHER" in *Burton's Gentleman's Magazine* in 1840, one of the additions he made to the 1839 text was a footnote listing some of the "other men" who shared Roderick Usher's belief in "the sentence of all vegetable things." Harry R. Warfel, in "Poe's Dr. Percival, A Note on *The Fall of the House of Usher*," *Modern Language Notes*, LIV, 129-131 (Feb., 1939), proves beyond any doubt that Poe's direct source was Richard Watson's *Chemical Essays*, Volume V, "On the

Subjects of Chemistry, and their general Division," and, for the footnote in particular, the brief preface which Watson added to the essay for the collection Warfel's purpose is to identify properly the "Dr Percival" mentioned in Poe's footnote, who had incorrectly been associated with Dr James Gates Percival, the American poet and geologist, but he does point out as well that Watson argues in favor of the sentience of plants

## I

It is very likely that Poe's debt to Watson does not end with this footnote. The footnote concerns only the idea of vegetable sentience, but to the "disordered fancy" of Roderick Usher that idea "had assumed a more daring character, and trespassed, under certain conditions, upon the kingdom of inorganization." Roderick, to summarize, believed not merely in the capacity of plants to *feel*, but also in their capacity to organize themselves in the non-organic materials around them—in particular the stones of the Usher mansion, the decayed trees around it, and the tarn—into a new organic unity which was able to create "an atmosphere of their own about the waters and the walls." Furthermore, Usher believed that this larger organism somehow included him "that silent, yet importunate and terrible influence which for centuries had molded the destinies of his family, and which made *him* what I now saw him." "Such opinions need no comment," the narrator adds, "and I will make none."<sup>1</sup> *Au contraire*. Comment, analysis, explanation is what is most desperately needed for Roderick's insane notion, since it provides the scientific or pseudo-scientific basis for the events of the story and is relevant to the understanding of much of Poe's work, particularly *Eureka*.

What Roderick believes is essentially a microcosmic (and mad) version of what has come to be known as the "organic metaphor." If the universe, since Newton, is to be described by an analogy, only two are effective: the mechanical or clockwork universe, in which the laws of physics are primarily operative and all substances may be treated as operating under fixed laws of motion, or the organic universe, in which the observations of chemistry and biology are

<sup>1</sup> James A. Harrison, ed., *The Complete Works of Edgar Allan Poe* (New York: AMS Press, 1965), III, 286-287. Subsequent references to 'Usher' and to *Eureka* noted in the text will also be to this edition, which is reproduced from the 1902 New York Edition. *Eureka* is in Vol. XVI.

primarily operative and physical laws only transient. Both analogies obscure or transcend the difference between organic and inorganic matter, but in different directions. The mechanical metaphor suggests that organic substances may be viewed as matter following the same laws that govern inorganic substances, i.e., that their behavior is determined by a pre-existent force. The organic metaphor suggests, contrarily, that apparently inorganic matter is only an inert form of larger life.

Richard Watson is not alone in espousing the organic metaphor. The idea was current in his day, as it is today. But the *form* that he gives the metaphor in his essay, "On the Subjects of Chemistry," is curiously like Poe's form and unlike the metaphor as presented in various Neoplatonic versions based on the "great chain of being." This similarity, combined with Poe's acknowledgment of his debt to Watson for a minor point, makes a close examination of Watson's argument relevant to the study of Poe.

Watson begins with minerals. He first shows how analysis of minerals is likely to be fruitless unless the examination is done from a chemical viewpoint. Distinctions which are not based upon chemical knowledge are bound to be transient and unspecific. But the chemist has a further obligation, as much as he specifies, the greater wisdom is in observing relationship.

A mineralist who considers gypseous alabasters, plaster stone, lamellated gypsums, rhomboidal selinites, *spatum Bononiense*, and a great many other bodies as proper to be distinguished from one another, and who is able to ascribe any particular body to its proper species from considering its external appearance, is possessed of a particular kind and degree of knowledge. He who besides being acquainted with the external appearances, is able to prove that all these different bodies are composed of a calcareous earth, united to the vitriolic acid, and thus make several species of things coalesce together, and unite, as it were, under one general conception, hath a knowledge of these bodies different in kind, and superior in degree. By this sort of knowledge the memory is much relieved, and the mind, ever grasping after universal truths, is gratified with the acquisition of general ideas.<sup>2</sup>

Suddenly, quite shockingly, Watson then breaks into the exposition to suggest that all that has preceded has been introductory,

<sup>2</sup> Richard Watson, *Chemical Essays* (London, 1787), V, 127-128. Subsequent references will be given in the text.



leading to the assertion of the need to unify quoted above. He continues to the thesis of this essay "If it be asked what are the discriminative characteristics of minerals, vegetables, and animals, as opposed to one another, I plainly answer that I do not know any, either from natural history or chemistry, which can wholly be relied on" (p. 128). "Systematic distinctions" have their scientific purpose, Watson explains, "but having no real foundation in nature, they should not be depended on too far, they often perplex or impede the progress of a curious enquirer" (p. 129).

He then goes on to examine the "systematic distinctions" separating the three kingdoms. The "loco-motive powers" which distinguish the animal, plant, and mineral kingdoms from each other is the first to be criticized. He cites the discoveries of Peyssonnel, Jussieu, and Ellis concerning "the animal nature of corals, madrepores, millepores, corallines, sponges, and a numerous tribe of bodies which the very ingenious labours of *Marsigli* had formerly removed from the mineral kingdom, where they had been placed by *Woodward* and other Mineralists, and allotted to that of vegetables" (pp. 131-132).

The second test is perception, for which he finds "several chemical, physical, and metaphysical reasons" to support the idea of perception in plants. The metaphysical is, of course, based upon the Great Chain. "The greater the quantity of perception existing in the universal system of creation, the greater is the quantity of happiness produced, and the greater the quantity of happiness produced, the greater is the goodness of the Deity in the estimation of beings with our capacities" (pp. 132-133). But, where the Neoplatonist would stop at this point, Watson has barely begun. Perception includes pain, and a complete creation includes the fact of men feeding upon animals which in turn feed upon plants. How justify that? "It is by Death, a seeming imperfection in his workmanship, that the Deity preserves vegetable life, supports the animal kingdom and continues this wonderful system of things" (pp. 135-136). Both plants and animals feed upon all the dead of the other kingdoms and their own. Perception is thus irrelevant to the question of immortality (which Watson denies to plants and minerals) and pertains only to the perfection of the creation.

More positive proof of the perception of plants follows. "The

plants called *Heliotropae* turn daily round with the sun" and "seem as desirous of absorbing a nutriment from its rays, as a bed of muscles doth from the water, by opening their shells upon the afflux of the tide" (pp 139-140) He cites the "*Flores Solares*," which are "as uniform in their opening and shutting as animals are in their times of feeding and digesting" "Trefoil, woodsorrel, mountain ebony, wild senna, the African marigold, &c" are compared with ants for their capacity to predict rain by folding up their leaves (p 140) Young trees, plants in a dark room, and wheat lean toward the sun Roots of plants "turn away with a kind of abhorrence from whatever they meet with which is hurtful to them, and tend with a kind of natural and irresistible impulse toward collections of water placed within their reach many plants experience convulsions of their *stamina* upon being slightly touched" (p 141)

Although the nature and the means of reproduction in both plants and animals remained hypothetical when Watson wrote, he points out that it was generally agreed "that a communication of sexes, in order to produce their like, belongs to vegetables as well as to animals" (p 145) Furthermore, the disputes about the nature of animal reproduction, "whether every animal be produced *ab ovo femellae*, or a *vermiculo in semine maris*, are exactly similar to those among botanists concerning the manner in which the *farina foecundans* contributes to the rendering the seed prolific" (pp 145-146) Similarly, the phenomena of birth in animals have their near analogies in plants, as do "expiration and inspiration, a kind of larynx and lungs, perspiration, imbibition, arteries, veins, lacteals, an organized body, and probably a circulating fluid" (p 148) So with the results of wounds and amputations, health and sickness generally, the creation of calluses, influence of environment, the creation of hybrids, the necessity for rest, periodicity of sexual behavior, all have their near analogies in plants

It is clear that in arguing the lack of distinctions among the three kingdoms Watson presumes the crucial question to be the distinction between animals and plants The vegetable is the "middle kingdom," the bridge between the inorganic world and the animal world Evidence is plentiful for his argument, and he must have believed that if he could show the one connection, the other

would follow by analogy. Thus when he comes to consider the organic nature of minerals, he produces less weight of argument. The "infallible and universal criterion" by which chemists believe they may distinguish an animal or vegetable substance from a mineral is simply the production of an oil by distillation. With a delightful casuistry, Watson reverses the argument to question it.

When a vegetable or animal is distilled in close vessels, the stronger the fire is, the more oil is obtained, what first passes into the recipient is more clear and limpid than what comes over towards the end of the operation. It may be presumed, however, that what remains adherent to the coal in the retort, and which no violence of fire can separate, is not essentially different from the last portions which are distilled, yet this, be it fixed oil or phlogiston, is no wise different from what enters into the composition of metallic substances, and of minerals, perhaps, of all kinds (pp 161-162)

Then, shifting his ground, he attacks the nature of the evidence available to those who would separate the organic from the inorganic. "Stones dug out of quarries, ores out of mines, in general, minerals separated from their *matrices*, are like the dead branches or limbs of vegetables or animals, incapable of receiving increase, except from an external incrustation" (p 163). If naturalists will observe the evidence of minerals *in situ*, organically connected with their parent earth, they get a different result. "In the *Cretan* labyrinth it hath been observed, that the names of travellers, which have been cut in the rock in former ages, are now in *alto relievo*, and that the older the dates are, the greater is the protuberance, resembling the callus formed by incisions in trees" (p 164). He talks of other examples of cicatrice-like changes in buried rocks, mentions De Boot's observations upon the growing of crystals, which he compares with mushrooms and "the gums and resins extravasated from various species of vegetables" (p 165).

Finally, and most tellingly, Watson shifts the argument to a confession of ignorance which, by the terms he gives it, is for his time at least an irrefutable basis for a hypothesis of at least terrestrial and possibly cosmic organicism.

Supposing, however, that we pay no attention to any of these circumstances, yet cannot we form any judgment concerning the internal state of the earth. The greatest depths to which Miners have penetrated even

in mountainous countries, which may be considered as excrescencies from the true surface of the earth, or the level of the sea, have scarcely ever equalled one sixteen thousandth part of its diameter, a distance altogether insufficient for the forming any probable conjecture about the inward constitution of the globe. The *strata* of stones, and veins of minerals, which are met with upon the surface, can give us as little information concerning the internal structure of the earth from which these are probably derived, as the contemplation of the scales of a fish, the feathers of a bird, or the *Epidermis* of a man, would concerning the bones and muscles, the veins and arteries, the circulation of the blood, and the several secretions of an animal body. Many minerals seem in their formation to have been antecedent, others subsequent to the universal deluge, a great part of the matter constituting the outward shell of the earth, the only part which we can examine, hath been subservient to vegetable or animal life. All the *strata* of limestones, chalks, marbles, all gypsums, spars, alabasters, &c are confessedly of animal origin. The *strata* of pit-coal, and of all bituminous fossils, of some species of slates, whatever may be thought of argillaceous strata in general, the mould everywhere covering the surface of the earth, and other substances, are supposed, probably enough, to have arisen from the destruction of vegetables, so that I know not whether it would be a very extravagant conjecture which should suppose that all matter is, or hath been organized, enlivened, animated (pp 167-169)

Though some of his reasoning is casuistic, some of his observations now antiquated, some of his evidences smacking more of Pliny than Bacon, Watson's argument in this essay is unquestionably *rational*, not metaphysical. When he cites a metaphysical reason, as he does for the "quantity of happiness" of the vegetable kingdom, it is subordinate to evidence based upon observations and conclusions from observations. The preface added to the collected essays supports this conclusion. Watson cites not only Percival and Spallanzani, but Stobaeus, Cardanus, and Ray as in favor of his key argument, that of vegetable sentience, and, as he says, "that the weight of the argument, *ad verecundiam*, may be equal on both sides" (p 108), then cites Sir John Hill, Gleditsch, and de Haller in opposition to the idea.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Here, however, Watson's scientific objectivity is something less than perfect. He clearly intimates that the distinction which Gleditsch and de Haller make between 'irritabile' and 'la sensible', the one pertaining to plants, the other to animals, is a mere splitting of hairs.

## II

The seed of Watson's essay fell on peculiarly fertile ground when Poe read it. With all the inclinations of a romantic, Poe mistrusted the American version of the romantic metaphysic. Doubtless he was aware of the organic metaphor, but the only American manifestations of it which he could observe came tainted with the smell of "the frog pond." For him they were Neoplatonic, transcendental excrescences which he viewed as irrational, unscientific matters of faith, not logic. Throughout his life, Poe received more of his inspiration, his metaphors, the language for his writings from science than from philosophy or metaphysics, and this essay of Watson's must have been a particularly rich source for him, especially for the most mature statement of his cosmological ideas, *Eureka*. Although *Eureka* is dedicated to von Humboldt and appears to find its logic in physics,<sup>4</sup> it is perhaps the most extended development of the organic metaphor ever written. All that Poe deduces "rationally" concerning the nature of the universe in *Eureka* bears a striking resemblance to the cosmic unity posited by Watson in his essay. Poe's "single unified atom" which is the original creation, is the universal seed, his opposed concepts of unity and multiplicity, with their paired analogues, attraction and repulsion, body and soul, matter and spirit, white and black, are simply organic life and death. When, at the end of his "poem" in prose, as he calls it, he refers most specifically to the organic nature of the entire creation, he does so in terms which are probably directly derived from Watson: "All these creatures—*all*—those which you term animate, as well as those to whom you deny life for no better reason than that you do not behold it in operation—*all* these creatures have, in a greater or less degree, a capacity for pleasure and for pain—but the general sum of their sensations is precisely that amount of Happiness which appertains by right to the Divine Being when concentrated within himself" (xvi, 314). Watson's statement was, "The greater the quantity of perception existing in the universal system of creation, the greater is the quantity of happiness produced, and the greater the quantity of happiness produced, the greater is the good-

<sup>4</sup> For the basis of *Eureka* in physics, see Clayton Hoagland, *The Universe of Eureka: A Comparison of the Theories of Eddington and Poe*, *Southern Literary Messenger* I, 307-313 (May, 1939).

ness of the Deity in the estimation of beings with our capacities" (pp 132-133)

*Eureka* ranges far beyond Watson's essay, into cosmology, physics, psychology, metaphysics. In the case of "The Fall of the House of Usher," Poe himself acknowledged his debt to Watson concerning the idea of vegetable sentience, and one has not far to look to discover that the debt goes much farther. Roderick Usher's madness is centered around the biological phenomenon which might be described as "colonial organicism," symbiosis, or mutualism. It begins with vegetable sentience, but goes much farther than that. The algae of the house of Usher have organized themselves—the stones of the house, the air around them, and even the mind of Usher himself—into what can only be described as a single, unified organism. What has happened with Roderick and his house is an example of aberrant *microcosmic* organicism. Where the universe of Poe's *Eureka* is apparently equiposed between the forces of attraction and repulsion, with only Poe's inexorable logic to insist that its degeneration to Unity is inevitable, the House of Usher—which includes the family, Roderick himself, and of course the building—has *refined* itself to a special condition within the larger cosmos of general organization.

The mystery is broached in the very first paragraph, when the narrator remarks the peculiar feeling of horror he has at "the mere house, and the simple landscape features of the domain," and feels "an utter depression of soul which I can compare to no earthly sensation more properly than to the after-dream of the reveller upon opium" (III, 273). The effect, the narrator concludes, is produced by the combination of "very simple natural objects," though "the analysis of this power lies among considerations beyond our depth." He then attempts, like the water-gazer of the opening chapter of *Moby-Dick*, to circumvent this collocation by staring at the reduplication of the scene in the water of the tarn. The result is "a shudder even more thrilling than before." The reason for this exaggerated response is not far to seek. If it is the unity, the organization, of the house and its surroundings which initiates the first shock of horror, how much more horrible must be the *disembodied*, two-dimensional vision of the same scene, particularly seen on the surface of that fluid which has archetypally suggested the spirit

(attraction, in Poe's cosmos) in opposition to matter (the clay, the body, repulsion, for Poe) The narrator is, of course, a visitor from another world, the macrocosmic world of balanced attraction and repulsion His response to the collocation of Usher's house is a subconscious cognition of the dangerous unification and organization of the Usher total ambience But his consciousness deceives him, lulls him into a rejection of the implications of this unity, and he proceeds

The narrator is, in fact, a kind of "innocent eye" observer, able to give the reader the necessary information but unable to interpret it Thus he comments as though amused on the identification of the family of Usher and the house and grounds "in the quaint and equivocal appellation of the 'House of Usher' in the minds of the peasantry" (p 275) He continues in this state through the story, rejecting Roderick's specific theory of the colonial organicism of the house, its algae, and his own personality, disbelieving and/or ignoring all the hints Usher gives about the impending disaster until the juncture of Madeline and Roderick in death, the combination and annihilation of the only two remaining "atoms" of the Unity of Usher, brings about the total destruction which the narrator barely escapes

While the "scientific" assumptions upon which the story is based may be traced in a general way to their more mature statement in *Eureka*, Watson's essay is doubtless their source Certainly Watson's essay deals with more than the sentience of plants As we have seen, vegetable sentience is simply a major piece of evidence in an argument for the organic relatedness of *all matter* "The Fall of the House of Usher" continues that argument, in the specific context of the Usher family, to include not merely matter but mind as well The microcosm of Usher—in time, the history of the family, in space, the combination of inorganic substances with organic, all centering in the mind of Roderick—rushes during the course of the story to a complete unification which is, of course, annihilation Usher's error is a fantastic pseudoscientific variation of hubris, a perfect, but insane, solipsism In Usher's mind, the "organism," one organism of "the house of Usher," loses all its distinctiveness, its particularity, with the death of Madeline In his extreme sensibility, he has defined the limits of his own organic universe much as

Watson suggested they be defined, but in a fashion too peculiarly self-oriented Usher, in his insanity, forgets the Neoplatonic lesson that Watson is careful to put near the end of his essay asserting the essential separateness of the human aspect of creation "Notwithstanding this analogy by which we are to be classed with the rest of the animals around us, yet hath it pleased Him who called forth from nothing both us and them, and thankful we ought to be for the preference, to place us at the top of the scale, to make us, as it were, the first term of a series, descending indefinitely by imperceptible gradations, to particularize that class of animals to which we belong, by rendering it capable of forming a moral character" (p 173) It is, of course, this one factor, a statement of faith, which is left out of Usher's calculation and is responsible for his madness The same factor, included in *Eureka*, though not explicitly stated, keeps that essay from being a document of despair

### *The Identity of Poe's "Miss B"*

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THE POE-"ANNIE" RICHMOND RELATIONSHIP is a fascinating one, both interesting and puzzling Equally as interesting is Poe's attraction to a previously unidentified young teacher in Lowell, Massachusetts, during the last year of his life References have been made to this lady, but her identity has remained unknown<sup>1</sup>

Bardwell Heywood, younger brother of "Annie" Richmond and principal of the Franklin Grammar School, Lowell, Massachusetts, confirms Poe's third and final visit to Lowell in a letter dated June 16, 1849, to Miss Annie Sawyer, whom he had known at Horace Mann's Teachers' Institute at Lexington In this same letter Heywood first mentions the young lady to whom Poe was attracted

<sup>1</sup> See F W Coburn, 'Poe As Seen By the Brother of Annie,' *New England Quarterly*, XVI, 474 (Sept, 1943), and Haldeen Braddy, *Glorious Incense* (Washington, D C, 1953), p 165



Mr Poe has just spent something more than a week with us, and so anxious was I lest I should lose the benefit of his original thoughts, which were continually dripping from his lips, that I spent almost every moment out of school in his presence — would to God Mr Poe could give me the thousandth part of his giant intellect

Some men, I now think, are great in spite of themselves. They can no more help being distinguished than I can help being otherwise. Mr Poe seems to be of that class. He seems to be entirely unconscious of his extraordinary mental power, and yet cannot fail to discover it to everyone with whom he converses, if but for a moment.

He honored my school with two visits while in the city, though I suppose I should have seen him there but once had he not fallen in love with one of the assistants. He confessed that he called on purpose to see her. So I took him into her room the moment he entered, and left them alone. Whether he proposed or not I have not ascertained. I only noticed an uncommon flush upon her cheek when they came out. If anything of the kind transpired I will inform you when it comes out.<sup>2</sup>

In the last known letter from Poe to "Annie" Richmond, dated June 16, 1849, there is an interesting paragraph at the end. Poe writes

Remember me to your parents, Bardwell, dear Caddy, Mr. and Miss C., and Mr. R. How dared you send my love to Miss B? Look over my letter and see if I even so much as mentioned her name. Dear Annie, my heart reproached me (after I parted with you) for having, even in jest, requested Bardwell to "remember me to Miss B." I thought it might have pained you in some measure—but indeed, darling Annie, no one in this whole world except your sweet self, is more than a friend to me.<sup>3</sup>

The tone at the beginning of this paragraph seems to be that of a light reproach. Then, quite seriously, Poe says that he is sorry for requesting, in jest, Bardwell to "remember me to Miss B." It is logical to assume that "Miss B" was a friend or co-worker of Bardwell Heywood. Surely she would have been someone that Heywood saw frequently.

In *The Twenty-Fourth Annual Report of the Lowell School Committee, 1849*, there are listed three assistants working under Principal Amos Bardwell Heywood at Franklin Grammar School.

<sup>2</sup> Coburn, pp. 474-475.

<sup>3</sup> John Ward Ostrom, ed., *The Letters of Edgar Allan Poe* (Cambridge, Mass., 1948), II, 448.

on Middlesex Street Only one of these assistants has a last name beginning with a B She is E J Butterfield <sup>4</sup> The first time she is listed as an assistant at Franklin School is in *The Twenty-Second Annual Report of the Lowell School Committee, 1847*, thereafter, she is listed every year through *The Thuty-Ninth Annual Report, 1864* There her resignation is noted <sup>5</sup>

In *The Thuty-Sixth Annual Report, 1861*, her full name is given for the first time Eliza J Butterfield This, I submit, is the mystery lady at the end of Poe's life

### *Melville Writes to the New Bedford Lyceum*

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MERRELL R DAVIS AND WILLIAM H GILMAN, in their edition of *The Letters of Herman Melville* (New Haven, 1960), print three letters relating to the 1857-1858 lecture season (nos 134-136) and four to the 1858-1859 season (nos 139-142) It is now possible to add one more regarding the earlier season The Virginia and Richard Ehrlich Autograph Collection in the Boston Public Library contains the following letter <sup>1</sup>

Pittsfield Oct 3<sup>d</sup> 1857

DEAR SIR—I accept with pleasure your invitation to lecture before your Lyceum, and shall await the receipt of the list of evenings not yet taken — A somewhat early part of the season would probably be most convenient to me, if equally so to you

Very Truly Yours

H MELVILLE

W<sup>m</sup> P S Cadwell Esq

The lyceum referred to is the New Bedford Lyceum, since William P S Cadwell is listed (as an apothecary) in the New Bedford city

<sup>4</sup> *The Twenty Fourth Annual Report of the School Committee of the City of Lowell* (Lowell, 1850)

<sup>5</sup> *The Thuty Ninth Annual Report of the School Committee of the City of Lowell* (Lowell, 1865), p 7

<sup>1</sup> Published by courtesy of the Trustees of the Boston Public Library

directories from 1838 through 1879-1880, including those for 1856 and 1859 (the two nearest to the time of Melville's letter)<sup>2</sup> Despite Melville's request for an early date, the lecture was delivered there late in the season (actually his last appearance that winter), on February 23, 1858<sup>3</sup> Although the letter is intrinsically not very interesting, it reduces by one the number of inferred letters as listed by Davis and Gilman,<sup>4</sup> and it adds a few new details to the known facts about Melville's first lecture season<sup>5</sup>

### *Stephen Crane and Cooper's Uncas*

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DURING THE FIRST MONTHS OF 1892 Stephen Crane frequented the forested mountains of Hartwood, New York, not far from his brother William's home in Port Jervis, and while sking there he picked up at the firesides of old homesteads the historical traditions of that region from "the old and weather-beaten inhabitants of the pines and boulders of Sullivan County" Their fireside stories he verified in books written by learned men who had "dived into piles of mouldy documents and dusty chronicles to establish their facts This gives the great Sullivan County thunderbolt immense weight And they hurl it at no less a head than that which once evolved

<sup>2</sup>I am indebted to Thelma Paine, of the Free Public Library of New Bedford, Mass., for checking some of these directories References to Cadwell (and his two marriages) are also found in the *Vital Records of New Bedford Massachusetts to the Year 1850*, II (1934), 98, III (1941), 37 These show that he was born in either 1817 or 1818, since he is first listed as twenty seven on October 13, 1845, and then as thirty one on October 12, 1848

<sup>3</sup>See Merton M Sealts, *Melville as Lecturer* (Cambridge, Mass., 1957), pp 49-50 Melville's notebook of lecture engagements (reproduced by Sealts between pp 188 and 189) contains the note, following the New Bedford entry, "List of evngs to be sent, and the crossed out dates of Decr 4<sup>th</sup> and Feby 16<sup>th</sup> Fixed" as well as the correct final date

<sup>4</sup>*Letters* p 314, n 5 The letter arranging the New Bedford engagement is listed as one of eleven inferred letters for 1858 (since the lecture was delivered in that year), though the letter, as it turns out, was written in 1857 (and would fall between letters 134 and 135 in the Davis Gilman edition) However, the presence of another 'fixed' date, crossed out, in Melville's notebook suggests that at least one further exchange of letters with a representative of the New Bedford Lyceum must have taken place

<sup>5</sup>For assistance in identifying the lyceum involved, I am grateful to Merton M Sealts and Richard Colles Johnson

from its inner recesses in the famous Leatherstocking Tales" When you tell them about the noble savage of Cooper's fiction, they shake "metaphorical fists" at Cooper's *The Last of the Mohicans* and scornfully sneer The old storytellers of Sullivan County insist that the original for Cooper's fictional bronze god Uncas ended his life there not as a noble warrior who had yearned after the blood of his enemies but as a derelict begging from house to house a drink of the white man's rum There was nothing noble about him "He was a veritable 'poor Indian' He dragged through his wretched life in helpless misery"

Crane tells this Sullivan County legend in an unsigned sketch new to the Crane canon<sup>1</sup> Although unsigned, it bears his unmistakable signature in his metaphoric style and device of contrast As the storytelling historians of Sullivan County shake "metaphorical fists," so too does Henry Fleming at the death of Jim Conklin in *The Red Badge of Courage* "The youth turned, with sudden, livid rage, toward the battle-field He shook his fist He seemed about to deliver a philippic 'Hell—'" He shakes his fist *not* at the battlefield, as several critics would have it, but at the sky In Manuscript LV's canceled passage for Chapter x "He turned in tupenny fury upon the high, tranquil sky He would have like[d] to have splashed it with a derisive paint" The sky has turned tranquil since it blazed in Chapter ix when "The [*fierce canceled*] red sun was pasted in the sky like a fierce wafer" (Manuscript LV)

As *The Red Badge of Courage* is designed by ironic contrasts of illusions undercut by crass realities, so too is Crane's 1892 sketch of the contrasted Uncas Cooper's falsely glorified version and the real thing It is another instance of Crane's constant theme of disillusionment debasement of illusionary and picturesque fronts by some contradictory insight Crane says that "the lover of the noble and fictional Uncas is overcome by great sadness," and the pathos

<sup>1</sup> On the same page of the press clipping (preserved in the family papers of Judge E J Dimock) the Fall River Line advertised that its popular steamers *Plymouth* and *Providence* would resume Sunday trips commencing April 3, and as Sunday, April 3, belongs to 1892 it appeared in some New York City newspaper—either the *Herald* or the *Tribune*—prior to that date and subsequent to the press clippings dateline Hartwood, Sullivan County, N Y, Feb 15' It appeared in fact in the *Tribune* on Sunday, February 21, 1892 Judge E J Dimock, who kindly sent me the press clipping, is one of the three gentlemen who as boys knew the young Stephen Crane at Hartwood, New York, and at Twin Lakes, Pennsylvania' So reads my dedication in *The New York City Sketches of Stephen Crane* co edited with E R Hagemann (1966)

lies in the contrast Crane's sketch—"The Last of the Mohicans / His Aspect in Fiction Contradicted by His / Fame in Folk-Lore"—has thus a thematic parallelism in his life, where likewise the pathos lies in the contrast between Crane's expectations and ideals *and* their collapse into rather banal trivialities and disappointments Crane in *Maggie* and *George's Mother* and in his Midnight Sketches of the city aimed to expose life's grim realities, the truth undercutting the fiction

Crane's list of Books at Brede Manor contains no book by Cooper, but obviously he knew his Cooper His otherwise mysterious nickname "Indians" for his artist friends at the old Needham building on East 23rd Street, which housed until October, 1892 the Art Students' League, harks back to his familiarity with the legendary fallen Uncas of Sullivan County They were "Indians" because—like Uncas—they wore ragged garments and begged or borrowed their food, drink, and bed So, too, did Crane himself He, too, was a veritable "poor Indian"

#### THE LAST OF THE MOHICANS

##### *His Aspect in Fiction Contradicted by His / Fame in Folk-Lore*<sup>2</sup>

Hartwood, Sullivan County, N Y, Feb 15—Few of the old, gnarled and weather-beaten inhabitants of the pines and boulders of Sullivan County are great readers of books or students of literature On the contrary, the man who subscribes for the county's weekly newspaper is the man who has attained sufficient position to enable him to leave his farm labors for literary pursuits The historical traditions of the region have been handed down from generation to generation, at the firesides in the old homesteads The aged grandsire recites legends to his grandson, and when the grandson's head is silvered he takes his corn-cob pipe from his mouth and transfixes his children's children with stirring tales of hunter's exploit and Indian battle Historians are wary of this form of procedure Insignificant facts, told from mouth to mouth down the years, have been known to become of positively appalling importance by the time they have passed from behind the last corn-cob in the last chimney corner Nevertheless, most of these fireside stories are verified by books written by learned men, who have dived into piles of mouldy documents and dusty chronicles to establish their facts

This gives the great Sullivan County thunderbolt immense weight And they hurl it at no less a head than that which once evolved from

<sup>2</sup> In New York *Tribune* February 21 (Sunday), 1892, p 12

its inner recesses the famous *Leatherstocking Tales*. The old story-tellers of this district are continually shaking metaphorical fists at "The Last of the Mohicans" of J. Fenimore Cooper. Tell them that they are aiming their shafts at one of the standard novels of American literature and they scornfully sneer, endeavor to oppose them with the intricacies of Indian history and they shriek defiance. No consideration for the author, the literature or the readers can stay their hands, and they claim without reservation that the last of the Mohicans, the real and only authentic last of the Mohicans, was a demoralized dilapidated inhabitant of Sullivan County.

The work in question is of course a visionary tale and the historical value of the plot is not a question of importance. But when the two heroes of Sullivan County and J. Fenimore Cooper, respectively, are compared, the pathos lies in the contrast, and the lover of the noble and fictional Uncas is overcome with great sadness. Even as Cooper claims that his Uncas was the last of the children of the Turtle, so do the sages of Sullivan County roar from out their rockbound fastnesses that their nondescript Indian was the last of the children of the Turtle. The pathos lies in the contrast between the noble savage of fiction and the sworn-to claimant of Sullivan County.

All know well the character of Cooper's hero, Uncas, that bronze god in a North American wilderness, that warrior with the eye of the eagle, the ear of the fox, the tread of the cat-like panther, and the tongue of the wise serpent of fable. Over his dead body a warrior cries:

"Why has thou left us, pride of the Wapanachki? Thy time has been like that of the sun when in the trees, thy glory brighter than his light at noonday. Thou art gone, youthful warrior, but a hundred Wyandots are clearing the briers from thy path to the world of spirits. Who that saw thee in battle would believe that thou couldst die? Who before thee has ever shown Uttawa the way into the fight? Thy feet were like the wings of eagles, thine arm heavier than falling branches from the pine, and thy voice like the Manitto when he speaks in the clouds. The tongue of Uttawa is weak and his heart exceedingly heavy. Pride of the Wapanachki, why hast thou left us?"

The last of the Mohicans supported by Sullivan County is a totally different character. They have forgotten his name. From their description of him he was no warrior who yearned after the blood of his enemies as the hart panteth for the water-brooks, on the contrary he developed a craving for the rum of the white men which rose superior to all other anxieties. He had the emblematic Turtle tattooed somewhere under his shirt-front. Arrayed in tattered, torn and ragged garments which some white man had thrown off, he wandered listlessly from village to village.

and from house to house, his only ambition being to beg, borrow or steal a drink. The settlers helped him because they knew his story. They knew of the long line of mighty sachems sleeping under the pines of the mountains. He was a veritable "poor Indian." He dragged through his wretched life in helpless misery. No one could be more alone in the world than he and when he died there was no one to call him proud of anything nor to inquire why he had left them.

## BOOK REVIEWS

MARK TWAIN'S WHICH WAS THE DREAM? AND OTHER SYMBOLIC WRITINGS OF THE LATER YEARS Edited with an Introduction by John S Tuckey Berkeley and Los Angeles University of California Press 1967 xii, 588 pp \$10 00

MARK TWAIN'S SATIRES & BURLESQUES Edited with an Introduction by Franklin R Rogers Berkeley and Los Angeles University of California Press 1967 x, 485 pp \$10 00

MARK TWAIN'S LETTERS TO HIS PUBLISHERS 1867-1894 Edited with an Introduction by Hamlin Hill Berkeley and Los Angeles University of California Press 1967 xiv, 388 pp \$10 00

These first three handsome volumes of "The Mark Twain Papers" provide the student with a broad sampling of what has long been known to the specialist as a rich but relatively inaccessible treasure of manuscripts—early and late writings, notebooks, letters, documents, memoranda, and thousands of odds and ends such as theater programs, banquet menus, and newspaper clippings Long locked up in bank vaults (by Mark Twain's last wishes) and available to no one but A B Paine, during the mid-thirties the manuscripts moved to Harvard, where the late Bernard De Voto attempted to sort and arrange them while continuing Paine's efforts to publish portions of them Thus Paine's collections of the *Letters* (1917), *Speeches* (1924), and *Autobiography* (1924) were supplemented by De Voto's edition of significant omitted portions of Paine's edition of the *Autobiography*, under the title *Mark Twain in Eruption* (1940) On De Voto's death, the *Papers* went for a brief stay at the Huntington Library, where they became more freely available to competent students, and Dixon Wecter undertook a full-length biography but lived to complete only *Sam Clemens in Hannibal* (published posthumously in 1952) In 1950 the *Papers* were given by Clara Clemens Samossoud to the University of California at Berkeley, where, under the curatorship of Henry Nash Smith (and more recently, Frederick Anderson), they have become the focus of attraction for scholars from all over the world Their fecundity is illustrated by the appearance of such books as Walter Blair's *Mark Twain and Huck Finn* (1960), H N Smith's and W M Gibson's *Mark Twain-Howells Letters* (1960), H N Smith's *Mark Twain The Development of a Writer* (1962), John S Tuckey's *Mark Twain and Little Satan* (1963), and Edith C Salisbury's *Susy and Mark Twain* (1965), and now the first three volumes of



the *Papers* themselves—of which fourteen volumes are contemplated under nine titles. Co-ordinated with (though under a separate editorial board) the twenty-four-volume edition of *Collected Writings of Mark Twain* (under the general editorship of John C. Gerber), the *Papers* are sponsored, along with a dozen other editions of nineteenth-century American authors in varying stages of preparation, by the Center for Editions of American Authors, which, in turn, is modestly subsidized by the National Endowment for the Humanities. It may be noted that two of these first three volumes bear the center's "seal" of approval, it is not explained why Mr. Rogers's collection of satires and burlesques failed to win this recognition, but it may be presumed that the printing of the text and accompanying historical and textual notes had proceeded too far to admit of being brought in line with the center's prescription. It does not follow that it is therefore any the less trustworthy, but means merely that it does not conform to the "Editorial Principles" as outlined in the center's "manual."

Planned to present primarily unpublished materials, "The Mark Twain Papers" will include also certain items already partially or inaccurately printed. The first three volumes are largely fresh. Published simultaneously in February, 1967, the three volumes are not numbered, but dates attached to prefatory notes suggest that they were completed in the order in which they are listed above: Tuckey, Rogers, Hill.

Each editor was already distinguished for the kind of work demanded. Mr. Tuckey's prior investigations into *The Mysterious Stranger* (and this involved necessarily the entire complex that lies between Hadleyburg and Eseldorf) provided an orientation in breadth and depth that becomes apparent to the reader as he makes his way through the intricate interrelations among the late writings of Mark Twain, as Mr. Tuckey outlines them in an introduction of thirty-two pages,—a masterpiece of brevity and clarity. No student of Mark Twain needs to be informed about the general contents of this group of late writings, which Mr. Tuckey appropriately calls the "Great Dark Manuscripts," but he has an eyeopener ahead, as he gropes his way through them, at the variations Mark Twain was able to play on these already well-worn themes. They represent a veritable quagmire of alterations, improvisations, trans-fusions, and transformations,—some of them poor in conception and worse in execution, and only a few written with the old verve. The conclusion can only be that in the majority of these late efforts Mark Twain lost control of his materials, in this respect paralleling Hawthorne's failure in his late abortive novels—with the difference that Hawthorne wrote disconsolately, whereas Mark Twain professed to have great fun doing them. One wonders. There is too much bitterness, and

too much harping on the hauntingly disturbing motif of personal failure. There is not the out-and-out nihilism of the concluding passages of *The Mysterious Stranger* (except perhaps in "Three Thousand Years Among the Microbes By a Microbe"), but there is a troubled questioning of all realities grounded in space and time and a juxtaposition of microcosm and macrocosm that leave the reader with a general depression of feeling analogous to the despondency of mind that produced these extravaganzas. It is to be observed that two of the titles end in question marks "Which Was It?" and "Which Was the Dream?", and it may be observed that in attempting to get what Mark Twain meant by the latter title, much depends on which of the four words is accented. One thinks that the accent should fall on the last word, but one is not sure, and there is no assurance that Mark Twain was. Finally, there runs through these late writings a recurring prepossession with personal inadequacy, catastrophic reversal of worldly fortune, the all-too-real dream fantasy, usually coupled with the voyage-of-disaster theme, the inadequacy of man's poor moral sense, and a painful belaboring of poor Orion's character—the last in varying disguises and not without strange autobiographical overtones—all of which tempt the reader to regard them as footnotes documenting De Voto's "Symbols of Despair."

But this may well be too easy a conclusion, and it may turn out (as Mr. Tuckey has suggested at a recent meeting of the MLA) that since Mark Twain worked on the "Great Dark" manuscripts during the same years in which he wrote *The Mysterious Stranger* (which De Voto regarded "an almost perfect book" and proof that Clemens had regained his talent), these manuscripts, far from illustrating Clemens's fruitless attempt to recoup his powers, may be regarded as steps in the process of literary self-healing by which he achieved a dramatic recovery of his creative abilities near the end. More than that, there is the possibility (again as Mr. Tuckey suggests) that these late writings should be studied for the evidence they afford that in some of them Mark Twain was bent on exploring the implications of depth psychology, especially with respect to the role and function of the unconscious for the creative literary artist. There is external biographical evidence outside these writings to invite this kind of inquiry, and now that we have the primary documents, a thorough investigation promises something more definite, one way or the other, than the kind of inspired but inconclusive surmisings we have been offered hitherto. Mr. Tuckey's immersion in the materials and his demonstrated circumspection in handling them made him the proper candidate for the job.

Mr. Rogers's collection of six burlesques and the extensive Hellfire

Hotchkiss and Simon Wheeler sequences will not enhance Mark Twain's reputation as a master of burlesque and satire, but, taken together, they do round out the record of his efforts in these ill-defined areas. We remain as much in the dark as apparently Mark Twain was about when parody becomes burlesque and burlesque turns to satire, when fantasy turns to extravagance, humor into invective, and when farcical comedy becomes sardonic, it is to be hoped, once we have before us all of Mark Twain's efforts in the various forms, that someone will undertake the problem of definition—at least as far as it applies to Mark Twain. In the process, it is certain we shall see raised again the fundamental question whether, indeed, Mark Twain was helped or hindered in the process of his literary maturation by his indulgence in farce, burlesque, and extravaganza. There is as yet no agreement with Mr. Rogers that burlesque was the chief vehicle by which Mark Twain learned the craft of authorship.

Hamlin Hill's collection of Mark Twain's letters to his publishers provides altogether engaging reading. These letters, together with the notes that fill in gaps, supply the data on which the student may form his own judgment in choosing between the view presented by Mark Twain of the succession of publishers who cheated him and the picture drawn by S. C. Webster of Mark Twain as an impossible taskmaster and a vindictive ogre. Mark Twain does not appear quite as bad as Webster implied when he said, "Mark Twain never forgave anyone he had injured," but he does not escape altogether Webster's more moderate accusations.

All in all, we may expect from the fourteen volumes of *Papers* a mass of materials that will provide provender for many theses and dissertations,—which is as it should be. Already my review copies of these first three volumes have provided the basis for four seminar papers during the semester just ended. The volumes were in such constant use (until the library copies arrived belatedly) that it was only by steady badgering of my students that I was able to read them myself for review.

*University of Wisconsin*

HENRY A. POCHMANN

A LOSS OF MASTERY *Puritan Historians in Colonial America* By Peter Gay Berkeley: University of California Press [1966] xii, 164 pp \$4.50

One sometimes wishes that more European scholars would write books on American subjects. They would not all be masterpieces, yet most of them would probably be written from points of view that Americans, try as they will, cannot quite achieve. Peter Gay of Co-

lumbia University is a European by birth and a European historian by specialization. In these four Jefferson Memorial Lectures, delivered at the University of California at Berkeley, he chose to consider William Bradford, Cotton Mather, and Jonathan Edwards as Puritan historians and to do it against a view of Puritanism that is not fashionable now in this country. Many of us, under the spell cast by Perry Miller, tend to have a high opinion of the Puritan mind, to revel in its tortuous Ramean logic, to admire the realism with which Puritan writers faced every problem that afflicts mankind and provided a solution that was *almost* rational. Even Perry Miller confessed in his essay "Errand into the Wilderness" that eventually the Puritan movement failed, but he had written so many pages celebrating its successes that one can easily overlook its lack of viability. Mr. Gay, on the other hand, makes it clear that in his opinion Puritanism was a failure. "The great crusade collapsed," he writes, "while, and largely because, New England flourished" (p. 111).

The purpose of Mr. Gay's book is as much to explain the nature of Puritanism, or of the Puritan idea of history, as to understand his three historians. In his first chapter, he contrasts the medieval and the Renaissance views of history, the one mythic, the other critical. Obviously, he prefers the latter, and finds the Puritans trapped in the former. Mr. Gay has a high opinion of Bradford's *Of Plimmouth Plantation*, its theme, he says, "is intricate, moving, and at times majestic. Its limitations are the limitations of Puritan culture, its merits are its own" (p. 32). Nevertheless, Bradford casts his story in the Protestant mold: it is an account of a great religious mission to fulfil the incomplete English Reformation by setting up God's true church in the American wilderness, and it trails off into an annalistic recital of the sins of the later generations, the sad story of the church's declension. Mr. Gay tries hard to do justice to Cotton Mather. He finds him "a cultivated man with a good mind," but also "a prig and a meddler, an unscrupulous ideologue and a windy orator" (p. 59). The *Magnalia*, he says, "displays learning as Othello displayed love, not wisely but too well" (p. 60). And Mather, like Bradford, had to chronicle the decay of the Puritan church. In the end, the *Magnalia* became "a Jeremiad in the service of a tribe in retreat" (p. 81).

Some readers will be surprised to find Jonathan Edwards treated as a historian. But Mr. Gay reminds us that when he went from Stockbridge to Princeton he was planning to write a *History of the Work of Redemption*. Death intervened to prevent his writing it, but his earlier sermons on the subject give us an idea of what would have been in this book. Mr. Gay pronounces Edwards a tragic figure, illustrating the

tragedy of Puritanism. A century and more after the heroic early days of Massachusetts Bay, Edwards was trying to renew the crisis theology of those days. But times had changed, and the effort could not possibly succeed. Puritans, he says, had always faced a dilemma: should they try to perpetuate the temper of the Founding Fathers or should they try to adapt themselves to changes in political, economic, and intellectual conditions? Edwards read and used Locke and Newton, to be sure, but with one purpose only: to restore the old religion. "Far from being the first modern American, therefore, "he was the last medieval American." (p. 116)

All these interpretations sound a little old-fashioned. But Mr. Gay is a learned and a thoughtful man. He has reached them after a tremendous amount of study, including all the books of Perry Miller. His "Bibliographical Essay" is longer than any of his other chapters. As a critical review of the literature on his subject, it is as well worth reading as anything in the book. Is it possible that *A Loss of Mastery* forecasts the next trend in the study of Puritanism?

Swarthmore College

FREDERICK B. TOPLES

RELIGION AND THE AMERICAN MIND *From the Great Awakening to the Revolution* By Alan Heimert. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1966. x, 668 pp. \$12.50.

In this closely packed, tightly reasoned volume Mr. Heimert explores the wide-ranging area of New England religious thought and experience belonging to the fifty years preceding the American Revolution. That religion had a considerable share in the tumults of this half-century is not a new idea. The contribution of this book is rather the increased evidence in favor of Calvinistic evangelism instead of Lockean rationalism as the shaping force behind the emergence of a new nation by way of revolution.

Obviously, the story begins with the cyclonic revivals of George Whitefield through New England in the 1740's. Eternal salvation, not an independent nation, was his theme, but since according to his preaching, man's salvation came by his own free choice, not by arbitrary divine decree, man was not only challenged to act independently but was also awakened to a sense of unimagined power within his grasp. Revolution, also obviously, might lie somewhere along this path.

But this is not Mr. Heimert's theme. He is concerned with what came of the immediate and passionate hostility to Whitefield as a man, as a preacher, and to the populace which surrendered apparently so easily to his magnetic eloquence. New England was henceforth split

into two camps. Towns and churches were rent in twain. Ministers who had been chosen for life were dismissed, half of the congregation walked out and founded a new church. New Lights contended against Old Lights, sectarianism proliferated. Sermons, pamphlets, resolutions for and against the revivals poured forth from colonial presses in a flood. Mr. Heimert has read and analyzed them all.

Underneath the confusion and fever of these warring spokesmen were two notions of God, of man, and of the nature of religion. Thousands of pages give substance to the convictions of the two opposing groups into which religious New England aligned itself, and one remembers that this was still an epoch in which religion was a determining force in men's thinking. When read with a discerning eye, these pages reveal the assumptions, the loyalties of the minds to which they were addressed, and also the techniques by which the speakers were operating.

The easy assumption that "enthusiastic" emotional preaching caught only the unthinking, not the intellectual, and that he by contrast chose the logical, rationalistic view does not hold. As leadership developed in both camps, it was Jonathan Edwards, the towering mind of his century, whose religious philosophy placed the affections at the very center of genuine Christianity. This was not emotionalism in its sensational manifestations, but the inner transformation of self, or in Jonathan Edwards's word, "the sense of the heart," which even outward excess could not hide. To him the outer manifestations—the noise, the bodily effects, sometimes the misconduct—were negative signs. He looked deeper to the abiding principle within, which, as he saw it, was the very substance of religion.

Charles Chauncy, his leading opponent, was also a gifted and convincing speaker and writer. His liberalism was cool, reasoned, sensible, and his eloquence was often impassioned. Many men battle in these pages, but by the author's persistent keeping of the two leaders, Edwards and Chauncy, before us, we do not lose our way often in these 552 pages. They sift a half-century of print into two clear-flowing streams. In Mr. Heimert's presentation, the Calvinistic evangelism of Edwards appears as the stronger dynamic of the two contending views.

In relation to the Revolution and the consequent birth of a nation which followed, this array of conflicting opinion guides us toward the realization that out of the excitement and tension of these polarized concepts came not only fresh, fruitful new ideas, but also an awakening on both sides. The listeners and readers accepted their differences and learned that they did not need to think alike in order to work together toward the same goal. It was the defining of the goal that mattered,

but out of the very confrontation of two points of view, resolutely, even passionately held, came energy and power in concerted action

*Sheepscot, Maine*

OLA ELIZABETH WINSLOW

ROBERT MUNFORD *America's First Comic Dramatist* By Rodney M Baine Athens, Ga University of Georgia Press [1967] 1x, 132 pp \$5 00

Despite Jay B Hubbell's monumental *The South in American Literature* (1954), the critical literary history of the *colonial* South can be as comprehensive as that for New England only after scores of manuscripts are printed, dozens of books on individual figures have been written, and years of work have been done in gathering background materials in this country and in Great Britain Rankin's recent study of the theater in colonial America, although perforce largely devoted to the South, does little more than skim the surface and gather together some exciting and well-known information in convenient form The story of playwriting and the theater in Virginia, for example, has never been told William Byrd's part in it, the plays written by and produced by and for rural gentlemen and ladies, the knowledge of the London theater and its colonial application are among many matters we hope to see investigated and evaluated in the next decade

Rodney M Baine's brief study, the result of thorough searching of primary sources for the life of his subject and a critical appraisal of Munford's two known plays in the light of British backgrounds and models, local conditions, and the character of the author, is one of the valuable first steps in the presentation of the colonial Southern literature and mind Baine has sensibly gone to county and state records for information as to the personal and public career of Colonel Robert Munford, who emerges as a fairly typical planter of the William Byrd class, a justice of the peace, and a burgess As a man of letters who translated Ovid, wrote occasional verse, and composed two plays he may also be more typical of the educated Chesapeake society gentleman than has previously been realized and admitted But more on this subject in another place

It is in this atmosphere and this Chesapeake society, including its books and reading, that the work of Robert Munford as the author of our first farce and first genuine light comedy should be considered That Mr Baine has not placed Munford fully in this society, or that he has not shown its intellectual and belletristic side as it might relate to Munford, is hardly his fault, for the evidence still remains obscured in scattered manuscripts

What we do have is a basic if necessarily narrowed contribution to an understanding of the Southern colonial mind. Besides the biographical material, the separate chapters on *The Candidates* and *The Patriots* are as valuable in displaying the colonial-Revolutionary drama in context as anything we have on Royall Tyler or Thomas Godfrey. English models, local allusions, sources of characterization, analyses and origins of structure and plot, and above all immediate historical background elucidate the text of these plays as nothing else has before. And Mr Baine points out, among other things, that a frequently recurring motif in later literatures, the peculiarly American problem of minorities, is already present as the major theme in *The Patriots*.

The book is a little marred by typographical errors. As we have noted, it lacks the cultural backgrounds of the colony which would have explained the man and his work more completely. But it is one of those pioneer studies for which every student of early American literature should find use.

University of Tennessee

RICHARD BEALE DAVIS

ROYALL TYLER. By G. Thomas Tanselle. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967. xvi, 281 pp. \$7.50.

G. Thomas Tanselle has written the full-length study of the life and works of Royall Tyler which has long been needed. The strange neglect of this important man of letters, the story of which Mr. Tanselle tells in his preface, resulted from the possessiveness of Tyler's descendants, who sought to prepare an official biography based on family papers. Only in May, 1964, did a legal decision permit scholars to use the papers, now held by the Vermont Historical Society. Since Mr. Tanselle's preface is dated June, 1965, it can be seen that he wasted no time in making use of the papers. He has also examined thoroughly other manuscript sources, which exist in quantity. *Royall Tyler* includes a biography of nearly fifty pages (with twenty-one pages of notes) and chapters on each of the genres to which Tyler contributed: drama, poetry, the novel, and the essay. A separate chapter is devoted to Tyler's most famous work, *The Contrast*. In addition, Mr. Tanselle supplies a chronology, a very full bibliography of Tyler's writings, and an annotated list of important studies. It is an admirably planned and executed work, though the page or so of conclusion seems decidedly slight.

Mr. Tanselle's scholarship is expert, and he demonstrates great skill in assembling materials: he is an excellent biographer. The chapters on Tyler's writings are less satisfactory. Since he is dealing with writings which are little known (indeed, some are still in manuscript), the ex-



tensive summaries and extended quotations are necessary, and one is grateful for the information about "The Bay Boy," for example. But Mr. Tanselle's style, though always clear, is pedestrian, and his critical commentary is rather tedious, especially the pages devoted to Tyler's later plays. The chapter on *The Contrast* demonstrates Mr. Tanselle's virtues and weaknesses. It supplies a great deal of exact and important information about the circumstances surrounding its first performance, its relationship to dramatic tradition, and its reputation, but the analysis of Tyler's dramatic technique is thin and emphasizes the obvious.

Nonetheless, Mr. Tanselle has written what has been most needed. M. B. Péladeau's edition of Tyler's verse, and J. B. Moore's edition of *The Algerine Captive*, both of which also appeared this year, encourage one to hope for modern editions of *The Yankee in London* and perhaps even a collection of Tyler's periodical essays, for *Royall Tyler* reinforces the impression that a renewed and an intelligent interest in early American literature is developing.

University of Massachusetts

EVERETT H. EMERSON

JEFFERSONIANISM AND THE AMERICAN NOVEL. By Howard Mumford Jones.  
New York: Teachers College Press [1966]. xii, 77 pp. \$3.25.

About midway through *Jeffersonianism and the American Novel* the author pauses to remark "One cannot consider everything." Yet in the space of seventy-seven pages he manages to jet from 1789 to 1945 and beyond. Obviously he cannot put down often. His principal stops are devoted to Cooper, Hawthorne, Howells, Mark Twain, and James. His aim is to assess the degree to which novelists have accepted the legacy of idealism conferred on all Americans by Jefferson. Predictably, the quotient of affirmative response to Jefferson's principles, especially his emphasis on "a moral sense, social duties, and a doctrine of responsible government," has waned through the years almost to the point of "vacuum." The author is alarmed with the abandonment of "the concept of the adult American as a being capable of both rational and moral choice" there can come danger to the very "foundation of the republic" by reason of the gradual moral decay of her citizens. Among the culprits now hastening this decay are certain novelists and their henchman critics. The author summarily indicts them.

But first he discusses exemplars of what he calls "the classical novel." He finds that Cooper "accepts and enforces a Jeffersonian theory of human nature." He believes that Hawthorne "did not despair of the republic" but notes that in his probing of man's unconscious Hawthorne disquietingly anticipates Freudianism. Melville is virtually bypassed as

an "eccentric" writer, "perhaps not a novelist but the writer of a vast romantic confession couched in symbolism and running to fourteen volumes" James imposes something of a strain, but at least his characters are often possessed of an "inner integrity" The most usable example of how Jeffersonian virtue can filter down through the years proves to be Howells Mark Twain's low (un-Jeffersonian) opinion of human nature is freely exposed, but there can be comfort in his "wide humanity [which] ranks Twain with Jefferson"

In contrast to the clear, cool introductory analysis of Jefferson's ideas, the last sections of the book show the author thundering his disapproval of the purveyors of contemporary narratives "filled with gloom, with guilt, with alienation, with *Angst*, with frustration" His philosophic stance is not dissimilar to that of the New Humanists of the twenties, but he exhibits less composure He writes with almost Calvinistic wrath against his line-up of literary malefactors including James Jones, Farrell, Bowles, Mailer, Sherwood Anderson, Nathanael West, Kerouac, Bellow, and others, as well as associated critics Fiedler and Feidelson There is in this book much scourging of sinners but little talk of trying to lead them to redemption by love Indeed the author begs to be excused from summoning up "an indiscriminate pity for the unlovely population" of many novels Although he credits Faulkner with "dazzling" technical skill, he appears to see in his stories little but the exploitation of sordidness and crime Lots of good readers besides Mr Jones are troubled by the incidence of distressing behavior in the contemporary novel, but a great many of them will perhaps not proceed so vigorously to judgment, believing that the very concepts of morality themselves, like all things of this world, are subject to change

Wesleyan University

ALEXANDER COWIE

EMERSON'S IMPACT ON THE BRITISH ISLES AND CANADA By William J Sowder Charlottesville, Va University Press of Virginia [1966]  
xiv, 240 pp \$5.75

Mr Sowder's book examines the ups and downs of Emerson's reputation in British and Canadian periodicals from 1840 to 1903 It does so by considering Emerson's reception in three different periods among the early Victorians, among the middle-class magazine reviewers of the fifties, sixties, and seventies, and among the more scholarly and detached critics at the end of the century In addition, Mr Sowder devotes three chapters to aspects of Emerson's fame as a poet, as a phi-

losopher, and in terms of his relationship with Carlyle. A short final chapter, "The Secret," attempts to discover what it was that made reviewing Emerson so often a hazardous undertaking for British and Canadian reviewers.

It is difficult to imagine that Mr Sowder has overlooked much of significance in his comprehensive survey. He quotes from hundreds of articles in ninety-six different periodicals, among them some very obscure ones, to delineate a picture that is, for the most part, a striking example of the pitfalls of periodical journalism.

Although there were perceptive critics of Emerson—among them Matthew Arnold, Leslie Stephen, and Vernon Lee—Emerson was often written off, especially in the early years of his fame, as a rhapsodic visionary, a poetaster, and a dangerous subversive and atheist. The epithets which Mr Sowder quotes from the journals of the time seem to exhaust the possibilities of invective. Or Emerson was hailed as a spokesman for this or that radical sect, especially the Secularists and Theosophists, precisely in the manner he himself would have condemned. It was not until late in his career, and after his death, that he came in regularly for the kind of balanced appraisal he had always deserved. At the end of the nineteenth century, it seemed as if he was finally being observed intelligently and in the proper perspective.

Mr Sowder's title is somewhat misleading in that it makes the reader expect some kind of discussion of Canadian, as distinct from British, views of Emerson. But the two are considered indiscriminately together, and any student of Emerson's Canadian reputation would have to extract it from the book through the (admittedly comprehensive) index—as would, for that matter, any student of Emerson's reputation in Scotland or Ireland exclusively. More serious is the lack of any bibliography of the articles cited, even though the author notes in his preface that "no adequate bibliography of these articles exists." Surely this is a major oversight in a work of this nature. The kind of misprint any scholar dreads appears in a footnote on page 92, where "Leslie Fieldson" is listed as the author of *Symbolism and American Literature*.

Students of Emerson will not find anything strikingly new or startling in this work. Mr Sowder is sometimes too obvious, as when he spends a page explaining that "Philistines" was Matthew Arnold's term for the complacent middle class. His chapter on Emerson and Carlyle gives a thoroughly pedestrian picture of the personal, philosophical, and stylistic differences between the two men, its virtue, on the other hand, is that it demonstrates through copious quotation how obvious these differences were to critics of the time.

Certainly the book enlarges considerably the body of documentary evidence for any study of Emerson's reputation

University of Vermont

RALPH H ORTH

THE LETTERS OF HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW *Volume I, 1814-1836, Volume II, 1837-1843* Edited by Andrew Hilen Cambridge, Mass  
Belknap Press of Harvard University Press 1966 xii, 576, ix, 564 pp  
\$25 00

In 1869 James Russell Lowell called his times "this age that blots out life with question-marks" and himself "child of an age that lectures, not creates" If this was true then, it is even truer now, only of course it is not the whole truth What judgment will finally be passed upon our creativity is not for us to say, but at least we are showing a decent regard for what the past has bequeathed to us Though a really appalling (and, at this late date, amazing) number of the basic editorial jobs are still waiting to be done, we may, I think, be quite sure that before we have been gathered to our fathers, we shall have written off more of them than all our predecessors put together

Among them all none more desperately needed to be done than the one to which Mr Hilen is now committed and of which he offers us here perhaps the first third of his fruits Originally he planned to include only Longfellow's letters to his family, and surely the pages of *American Literature* are not a place where I need to labor the point that in undertaking the more heroic task (which must inevitably swallow up a much larger portion of his life), he has placed us all under a very great debt Whatever strictly aesthetic valuation may be placed upon Longfellow's poetry, and however greatly the individual reader may enjoy it or fail to enjoy it, only those to whom the nineteenth century is a blank of ignorance can doubt that in his influence and his representative character he was the most important poet we have ever had It was he, not Whitman, who represented, and in large measure created, the nineteenth-century norm, and in many respects he was its most winning and distinguished embodiment But until now complete understanding of all this has been withheld from the general reader because so much of the material has been missing

Mr Hilen has shown uncommon independence of judgment among the younger scholars of his time in choosing an unfashionable subject His scholarly methods and manners are impeccable, and he annotates upon an heroic scale If he is open to criticism anywhere, it is in the modest tone of his introduction, where he tells us that Longfellow had "a more receptive than creative mind" and that he was "a detached ob-

server rather than a penetrating critic of manners and men" I do not mean that this is not true, but it might by this time be taken for granted Eugene O'Neill was not Shakespeare Howard Pyle was not Michelangelo Richard Strauss was not Johann Sebastian Bach But we have not learned much about the quality of any of the later men by establishing these assertions

Mr Hilen's edition will be a monument to Longfellow, to himself, and to one other man, Longfellow's grandson, the late H W L Dana, who created and arranged the great Longfellow House collection which furnished the foundation for the work It should be understood, however, that Mr Hilen has not confined himself to this collection but has searched out additional material wherever it may be found

During the period covered by Volumes I and II Longfellow is known to have written 1,200 letters, of which 805 have survived What is to come will be important in other ways, but this section is basic It covers Longfellow's self-discovery, both personally and professionally, his (for his time) daring rejection of the law and his turning instead to teaching the modern languages, both the long European sojourns through which he subsumed the European past and European culture into not only his own but the American consciousness, all his academic life at Bowdoin and his establishment at Cambridge, his first marriage and bereavement, and his passionate, long-agonized wooing of Fanny Appleton

*Boston University*

EDWARD WAGENKNECHT

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL By Martin Duberman Boston Houghton Mifflin 1966 xxii, 516 pp \$8 00

This is the first full-length factual biography of Lowell published since Scudder's two-volume work appeared in 1901 There have been several good biographies, shorter or more specialized, including Ferris Greenslet's in 1905 and Leon Howard's in 1952, but Mr Duberman's work has the solid justification that it attempts to bring Scudder up to date and does so by including some factual materials not available to him He has examined the primary sources, published and unpublished, and has produced a more detailed and intimate account of Lowell's private life and a more vivid impression of his personality than Scudder or any other biographer has been able to accomplish Here we find not only the man of affairs and the "Victorian Knight-Errent" of Howard's title, but also the ardent lover and husband, the devoted father, the faithful friend, and the social, gregarious man who was always the life of the party

The narrative is chronological, literary events, with some critical

comments, taking their place with the rest in their proper order. But it does not pretend to be a critical biography. Mr. Duberman thinks the "Brahmins" have for too long been commonly thought of as "smug, limited men, ineffectual shadows of their Puritan forebears." In his introduction he says, "It is Lowell's qualities as a human being which have most attracted me, and which warrant rehabilitation." He proposes to communicate this view, and does so effectively without neglecting the other aspects of Lowell's career—his abolitionist activity, his professorial and editorial service, and his considerable contribution to American diplomacy as minister to Spain and to England.

In the introduction to the American Writers Series *Lowell*, in 1947, Harry Clark described Lowell's growth through three phases, the Humanitarian, the Nationalist, and the Natural Aristocrat, corresponding respectively to the mature years before 1850, the period from 1850 to 1867, and the last years of his life. Mr. Duberman does not specify such a division, but doubtless he and others who know Lowell's temperament would agree in general. Lowell was rather emotional as a youth, and about 1840, partly through the influence of Maria White, to whom he became engaged at that time, he joined enthusiastically in the movement for the abolition of slavery. During the 1850's his ardor cooled, and after the Civil War he even manifested symptoms of skepticism. This tendency continued until in the 1880's he found the society of the late-Victorian aristocrats in England more agreeable than that of democratic America. Some aspects of this progress can be traced in his writing from the early lyrics and the *Biglow Papers*, first series, through the *Biglow Papers*, second series, to the letters and essays of his last ten years. Nevertheless, as Mr. Duberman makes abundantly clear, he did not change essentially, but only developed.

Some weaknesses may be discovered by the attentive reader, but they are not glaring. The style is not always graceful, and the critical comments are not always acute. His opinion of the literary worth of the second series of the *Biglow Papers* is possibly too low. He may be mistaken in thinking that Lowell was sometimes posing when he wrote serious poems, yet he is surely correct in his judgment that Lowell was a better moralist when he mixed humor with his moralizing than he ever was without it. Mr. Duberman does not minimize Lowell's faults—his bumptiousness and occasional unkindness as a critic and editor, his casualness in his work sometimes to the degree of superficiality, and his blindness to the worth of Thoreau, Melville, and Whitman—but he gives us a fresh and true perspective on the man whom nearly all his contemporaries liked—the sentimentalist, the wit, the good fellow, the generous friend and companion, the gentleman-democrat who, with all

his idiosyncracies, represented to Europe what seemed then the best in American culture

University of Virginia

FLOYD STOVALL

UNPROMISING HEROES *Mark Twain and His Characters* By Robert Regan Berkeley University of California Press 1966 xi, 246 pp \$5.00

The object of his study, Robert Regan explains in his preface, is to examine the "psychological imperatives" of that fiction in which the "Unpromising Hero," a persistent folklore type and a dominant Mark Twain character, rises from insignificance to fame. Mr. Regan will buttress his case with analogues in folk tradition and with the lives of Clemens's real-life heroes such as General Grant and Anson Burlingame. Thus, initially it appears that the book is to support a single motif or thesis, grounded on the Freudian rivalry of the younger brother with his father or his father's surrogates. Are Twain's characters, on the couch, to merge into one?

Not so, fortunately. The writer employs his thesis only where it works. Twain's late recollection of gulling the last skeptic in Hannibal, Dr. Peake, as a youthful "subject" to a traveling mesmerist, is a prime case in point. But Tom Canty, Tom Sawyer (who, it is shown, differs in different stories), Hank Morgan, and Pudd'nhead Wilson, it turns out, are Unpromising Heroes each with a difference. Within the first two chapters, Mr. Regan has identified variations like the Heroic Child, the Technocrat, the Charismatic Leader, the Tyrant, and the Anti-Hero, and has added several types of his own to the various poses identified by John C. Gerber and Paul Baender and James M. Cox. The thesis has become a complex of theses, with constant attention to unique traits in Twain's characters and the subtle change in Twain's sensibility and his craft as a writer.

The result is, very often, fresh and persuasive interpretation. The disappearance of the vulgar Mr. Brown is shown to be a function of Twain's increasing confidence and skill in presenting a vulgar vernacular "Mark Twain." *The Prince and the Pauper* appears as an exemplary book for children, a "book that hangs together exceptionally well," because Miles Hendon, as well as the two boys, must re-establish his identity in competition, like them, with paternal authorities. Hank Morgan, a "particularly anomalous Unpromising Hero," is shown in his changing relation to Merlin and King Arthur, and, Mr. Regan demonstrates, Merlin's final success is as ambiguous as Arthur's abandoning the Boss to defeat and his long sleep. Morgan's continual bewilder-

ing shift from the role of technocrat to social critic, it might be added, parallels Clemens's own monopolistic ambitions with the typesetter and his simultaneous enthusiasm for Bellamy's socialism. Mr. Regan is perceptive in emphasizing the night side of *Tom Sawyer*, including the vanity of St. Petersburg's adults, and (after Walter Blair) Tom's moral choices. He is especially persuasive arguing that the last "cheating" chapters of *Huckleberry Finn* form a proper climactic action: if battle is joined, Huck, the anti-hero *never* called a hero, he says, "will lose everything except his integrity, Tom everything except his celebrity." Mr. Regan gives *Pudd'nhead Wilson* original and *The American Claimant* almost first-time treatment.

Mostly, when theoretical and practical criticism diverge in Mr. Regan's book, practical criticism wins, to the reader's profit.

New York University

WILLIAM M. GIBSON

MARK TWAIN *The Fate of Humor* By James M. Cox Princeton, N.J.  
Princeton University Press 1966 viii, 321 pp. \$7.50

Samuel Clemens's fate and genius, writes James M. Cox, was to project "the world as entertainment" by invading "the citadel of seriousness" and converting it to pleasure and laughter. The pseudonym that Clemens adopted in 1863 "neither concealed, obliterated, nor narrowed his identity, but exposed and freed it" to become "irrevocably humorous"—as Mark Twain. Humor, and neither satire nor anything else, was the "essence" of Clemens's imagination. Mr. Cox develops these assumptions—which invert key concepts in Brooks's *Ordeal* and which recall De Voto's contention that Clemens intended to promote laughter—into a coherent theory generating great cumulative force and embracing the major works from "The Jumping Frog" to the *Autobiography*. Mr. Cox's rewarding analyses of Clemens's forms of humor yield fresh evaluations and clearly tend to raise his stature as innovator and as artist.

Mr. Cox's dissection of Mark Twain's humor isolates feelings such as anger, indignation, shame, and guilt that Clemens "discharged" into his writing. There, transformed by imaginative play, they yielded "a gain of pleasure." He reveals the humorist's "strategies" and "stances" like exaggeration, contrast, irreverent impersonation, and "indulgent irony." We see Clemens honing the edge of his humor against needed "resistances" that he set up, including the role of benign censor he conferred on "straight man" Livy.

Cox believes that Clemens as humorist progressively realized, then fell away from, the pleasure principle—a course different from that



traced in Henry Nash Smith's *Mark Twain*. In the 1860's, says Mr. Cox, Clemens established basic humorous perspectives, then invented Mark Twain's pre-1863 past in Book I of *Roughing It* and "Old Times on the Mississippi." These two "semi-autobiographical" triumphs of humor freed him for important fiction. *Tom Sawyer* portrayed "reality" as pleasurable play, and the vernacular-centered *Huck Finn* assimilated larger areas of seriousness to the humor. But the escaping Huck never embarked on a positive "Quest" for freedom. His only rebellion was against all forms of the tyrant conscience, for he sought comfort and pleasure. Yet in choosing Hell, he went over to "the Northern conscience"—Mr. Cox's equivalent for what usually is called the intuitive humanity of Huck's sound heart. This victory for morality over pleasure taught Clemens "the limits of his humor" in life itself, and "it almost killed him." Thereafter he railed at the conscience and the need for self-approval. That preoccupation increasingly turned him to serious issues of "truth, virtue, and morality" and thus "betrayed his genius" for promoting laughter. Despite limited successes like *A Connecticut Yankee* and "Hadlevburg," never again could he synthesize "good humor" from those feelings that issued fragmented in the satire, irony, or sentimentality of his later works—which Mr. Cox orders and inter-relates in illuminating fashion.

The exciting dramatization of Clemens's imagination sometimes is marred by overstatement and an apocalyptic tone. Mr. Cox's brilliant concentration on the forms of humor leads him, in my opinion, to slight other literary elements in his analyses. The argument that a "logic of pleasure" lies at the heart of *Huck Finn* fits his general theory exceptionally well. But I am left more unconvinced than ever by his argument—in itself a little masterpiece of subtle intricacy—that the burlesque Evasion is a "necessity" of the ironic and humorous form, and that Huck's courageous "act of positive virtue," simply *because* it is moral, negates his true self and, for that reason, necessarily consigns him to the role—including, paradoxically, the shoddy morality—of Tom Sawyer. I suspect that Freud's conception of humor, which Mr. Cox uses with creative ingenuity, misleads him here and that it is, in fact, inadequate to the complexity of humor in Clemens's masterpiece. Occasionally Mr. Cox is factually inaccurate, as when he has "The Jumping Frog" in the final issue of the New York *Saturday Press*, or when he has Clemens leaving for Jackass Hill because of a feud with the police. But this book easily overrides all such flaws. It brings Clemens's humor into sharp focus and will remain a powerful study of his imagination.

Miami University

EDGAR M. BRANCH

THE LITERARY REALISM OF WILLIAM DEAN HOWELLS By William McMurray Carbondale, Ill Southern Illinois University Press [1967] x, 147 pp \$4.95

Mr McMurray seeks to demonstrate by a study of twelve of Howells's major novels that Howells was committed to a group of related ideas that can best be described as the pragmatism of William James. It was Everett Carter who some years ago pointed out that there was a similarity between the relativism and pluralism of pragmatic philosophy and the realists' distrust of absolutes and abstractions, but Mr McMurray is the first to pursue this similarity in any detail. His method is to analyze each of the novels he considers, from *A Foregone Conclusion* (1875) to *The Vacation of the Kelwyns* (1920), as a work of fiction and to conclude that the central themes of each work are closely related to pragmatic ideas.

In this enterprise Mr McMurray is successful, and one is persuaded at the close of his book "that both Howells and James conceived man as living in an open world, a world which is yet unfinished in its meaning and in which man himself is the maker of that meaning." The study has a disturbing thinness, however, a quality which is the product of more than its brevity. Its lack of density arises principally, I think, from the rigidity of Mr McMurray's approach to Howells and his work. With a few minor exceptions, he excludes consideration of Howells's thought other than as he finds it expressed in the novels chosen for analysis. This limitation is incongruous, given a major implication of Mr McMurray's critical method—that Howells's fiction can be profitably explored in relation to a current of thought in his own day. If fiction is to be approached through the history of ideas, one would assume that an examination of a writer's ideas as he expresses them outside his fiction would contribute as much to this method as the use of the ideas of a particular philosopher—in this instance, the ideas of William James. Howells perhaps has no work as explicit as *De Doctrina Christiana* to cast light on his themes, but what he lacks in explicitness he makes up for in range and quantity. In addition, though Mr McMurray writes perceptively, too much of his brief discussion of each novel is devoted to plot summary and to the quotation of critical commentary.

In short, Mr McMurray proves his thesis, but he does not represent fully enough either Howells the thinker or Howells the novelist to involve us very deeply in his thesis.

Newcomb College, Tulane University

DONALD PIZER

JACK LONDON AND THE KLONDIKE By Franklin Walker San Marino, Calif The Huntington Library 1966 288 pp \$5 00

Mr Walker states his purpose in this study as threefold to provide "a vivid and valid picture" of the great Klondike Gold Rush, to present a "most important segment" of Jack London's life, and—by giving an account of London's writing methods—"to throw light on his creative talent" Undertaken by anyone but a thoroughly competent scholar, the project might have become another of those botches which once prompted Harry Hartwick to remark that "More bad literature has been written about London than he wrote himself" But this book is saved—and made—by the scholar's conscientious research (Mr Walker not only sifted through the massive London collection at the Huntington Library but also drove through the Yukon country, consulting sourdoughs and official records alike), by his tactful synthesis of document, hearsay, and fiction, and—above all—by his good sense Though most of the story has been told before (significant fragments appear, for example, in Pierre Berton's *The Klondike Fever*, Jack London's *Tales of Adventure*, and *Letters from Jack London*), the pieces have been welded here, for the first time, into an authentic whole

There is little doubt that the Yukon winter of 1897-1898 was the crucial experience in London's literary development He himself later confessed, "It was in the Klondike I found myself There nobody talks Everybody thinks You get your true perspective" He was of course, as Mr Walker points out, telling only half the truth, since it was from the talk of his fellow argonauts that London drew much of the substance for his Northland fiction "Talk he did, but most important of all, he listened and observed during those months in the draughty cabins near the mouth of the Stewart, he stored up memories, thought ideas through, felt the stirrings of a creative artist" The "stirrings" had manifested themselves earlier, but the results had been, for the most part, mediocre In less than two years after London returned from the Klondike, however, the *Atlantic* had published his "Odyssey of the North" and Houghton Mifflin had issued *The Son of the Wolf* Within five years *The Call of the Wild* had brought international recognition London's Klondike diggings ultimately yielded a dozen books and more than seventy shorter works—one of the great literary bonanzas of all time And at least half of these items are still selling

If Mr Walker's first seven chapters, which recount the Northland adventure, demonstrate his scholarly competence, the last three chapters, analyzing the literary result, reveal his critical acumen In view of the scantness of genuine criticism dealing with London's fiction, these

latter chapters are especially noteworthy. Gratefully missing is the silly pretension and jargon we have learned to tolerate among our critics, also missing is the current tendency to dismiss London's literary accomplishments with a supercilious cliché. And only once, when he equates Buck the good sled dog with London the writer, does Mr Walker slip into the biographical fallacy that has trapped so many London commentators. Without sidestepping the embarrassing implications of London's Anglo-Saxon sympathies, Mr Walker rightly emphasizes those qualities in London's fiction that are timeless: vitality, sincerity, romance, courage, and humanism. Nowhere have London's virtues been more accurately summed up than in Mr Walker's conclusion:

He was passionately of the conviction that man could be a reasonable creature, that he had the elements of greatness in the face of adversity, that he could survive in the wilderness and build a better society in his cities. Because he based his hope on the natural rather than the supernatural, but also because he has his transitory doubts of man's capabilities as well as a recurring confidence in his future, he seems today most human and most timely.

As the first book-length critical study of London published by an American scholar, *Jack London and the Klondike* is also "most timely." EARLE LABOR  
*Centenary College of Louisiana*

THE MODERN AMERICAN POLITICAL NOVEL 1900-1960 By Joseph Blotner  
Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press [1966] x, 424 pp. \$6.75

"Mr Dooley" once remarked that the two most popular American pastimes were business and politics. The novel of business has attracted distinguished practitioners from Howells to Auchincloss, the novel of politics, while equally hardy though less obviously persistent, has elicited far less critical attention. The aim of this study is "to discover the image of American politics as presented in American novels over a sixty-year span," from 1900 to 1960. Mr Blotner defines the "political" novel as that which deals with "the overt, institutionalized politics of the office holder, the candidate, the party official, or the individual who performs political acts as they are conventionally understood." Thus *The Jungle* and *The Grapes of Wrath* do not fall within the scope of the book, for though both novels may have broad political implications, they do not deal primarily with political actions and processes. Within the boundaries of the controlling definition, he finds 138 novels, spanning the years from Brand Whitlock's *Thirteenth District* to Drury's *Advise and Consent*.

(which, viewed critically, does not mark a spectacular advance) and ranging in quality from the most inept potboilers to Robert Penn Warren's *All the King's Men*. This makes a complicated mass of material to handle, and Mr. Blotner controls it extremely well.

The result is an illuminating study of the American scene. As the author begins to divide, classify, and analyze the novels which make up the list, one realizes that they portray not only the facts but the temper and mood of twentieth-century political life with surprising accuracy and considerable penetration. Certain archetypal figures emerge—the Shining Crusader, the Boss, the Demagogue (usually Southern), the Good Woman as Guide. Mr. Blotner in connection with these makes some interesting suggestions about mythic behavior patterns in political fiction. He points out also that the genre, by running plots parallel to events, has rather closely reflected major political movements and issues—the Progressive struggle against privilege, the incipient fascism of the thirties, the isolationist argument, the McCarthyite insanity of the fifties, the post-Korean alienation of the intellectuals, even foreshadowings of the recent Rightist reaction. Deeper attitudes toward the American political system appear and reappear thematically, especially that alternation of hope and fear, faith and disillusion, idealism and practicality which seem traditionally to mark the American's assessment of his institutions. Each chapter is preceded by a capsule historical survey of the period under consideration so that the novels may be interpreted in terms of people and events. The whole is concluded with a list of political and related novels and an exhaustive bibliography of primary and secondary sources. One would find it hard to ask for more extensive apparatus.

To list, summarize, and place within their contexts all the political novels published in the United States during this century is in itself a useful contribution, simply as information. But, as Mr. Blotner notes, taking an over-all look at the hundred-odd specimens of the type raises some interesting speculations which go beyond the novels themselves. Why, for example, did the major novelists—Dreiser, Fitzgerald, Hemingway, Faulkner, Wolfe, among others—apparently find neither stimulation nor challenge in the political scene around them? (For that matter, neither have the writers of the contemporary generation, Bellow, Barth, Updike, Cheever, Malamud.) Whereas British and European novelists, counting among them Malraux, Silone, Koestler, Huxley, Orwell, found the ideologies and conflicts of political life intensely meaningful materials for fiction, their American counterparts for the most part felt nothing of the sort. As the reader scans the array of novels considered in Mr. Blotner's study, he is struck by the paucity of those which exhibit

any really enduring artistic merit. Except for Warren's *All the King's Men* and Dos Passos's *Adventures of a Young Man*, the great majority of those listed are to be read less as novels than as indicators of the shifting course of recent American political history.

Mr. Blotner suggests a reasonable answer that the novelist as American cannot by the nature of his commitment to the American dream become so involved in those deep ideological conflicts, traditionally European, which make for authentic human tragedy. American political life is grounded in an essential optimism which in itself denies the existence of failure. Whatever his personal political coloration, the novelist as American maintains a fundamental belief in the rightness of his national ideology. He therefore approaches political society as reformer rather than artist, he criticizes to improve it, renders judgment to rectify its faults. Rather than with the ideology of politics, as this study clearly shows, the novelists have been concerned with its operation, machinery, and tactics.

It is also clear that the modern political novel, in Mr. Blotner's analysis, partakes of the histrionic, moralistic quality of American politics itself. Americans have always conceived of politics as a struggle between right and wrong, light and darkness, and view their political past and future as a continuing moral drama in which the characters play plainly labeled parts. One has the uneasy feeling, in reading Mr. Blotner's sketches of their plots over the years, that these books comprise a variety of political Western, with white hats against black hats, rangers against outlaws. It is hard to construct great novels out of such easily interchangeable literary clichés.

However, whether American political novels of the past sixty years have been good or bad art is not the point of the book. It is rather to show something of the character of the American political experience as seen and interpreted by the artist, and how political reality has been reflected in fiction. Critical assessment of the novels is shrewd, unobtrusive, and limited to essential judgments. Mr. Blotner's study has as much to say to the social scientist, the historian, and the politically minded general reader as to the literary historian and critic. It is a valuable book, done with skill and insight.

Michigan State University

RUSSEL B. NYE

ROBERT FROST *The Early Years, 1874-1915* By Lawrance Thompson  
New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston [1966] xxvi, 641 pp. \$12.50

In this first volume of the biography authorized by Frost himself, Mr. Thompson has given us essentially, in Melville's phrase, an "inside

narrative" The figure which emerges from this carefully documented exploration of the psychic forces that went into the making of Frost's character and poetry contrasts markedly with the image publicly framed by the poet himself and dominant, for instance, in such a recent book as E C Lathem's collection, *Interviews with Robert Frost*, in which the easygoing, tousle-haired, kindly rural skeptic has few serious quarrels with his world and virtually none with himself Mr Thompson's poet is emphatically one who was "acquainted with the night," one who indeed by his own admission had "desert places" within—persistent fears, hatreds, jealousies, despair, vindictiveness, psychosomatic illness, and deep feelings of guilt In an extended sense the biography supports the pronouncement made so disturbingly by Lionel Trilling nearly a decade ago that Frost is a "terrifying poet" Yet it also shows this very darkness arising out of the poet's pride and idealism and in a measure subdued by his courage and his dedication to his art

The authority of this definitive "summing up" rests upon the combination of Mr Thompson's cogent scholarship and the unusual resources afforded by an almost confessional association on Frost's part, for nearly forty years If at times the biography in its reconstruction of attitudes and motives seems to approach the mode of an omniscient novelist, this fictive cast must surely be traced to Frost's own interpretive revelations When the six-year-old Frost is portrayed, for instance, in his responses to the "cheering crowd" and to his father on the "rear platform" waving good-bye and doffing his new top hat" as he departed for the Democratic convention, one must surely assume that here and on many other occasions in the biography the details and emotions are from Frost's memory rather than the biographer's invention Indeed, Mr Thompson is careful to distinguish between fact and probability by the consistent interpolation of such cautionary signals as "may have" and "probably" in instances where he finds discrepancies in data or in Frost's accounts, or when he suspects Frost of accommodating actual experience to one of his "myths" about himself or his circumstances At times, perhaps, the interpretive line is not altogether clear, as in such questions as how much the poet consciously owed Shakespeare in the interplay of meter and colloquial idiom Yet Mr Thompson's search for and verification of the truth about Frost have been indefatigable and exhaustive in letters and public records, in various manuscript collections, in the memories of Frost's acquaintances, in the notebooks of Frost and of his daughter Lesley, in visits to scenes and areas which affected the poet, and in countless interviews The thoroughness of this scholarly inquiry, attested in more than one hundred pages of annotations, not only brings to light many new facets of Frost's character but also pro-

vides the basis for the correction of numerous errors in previous biographies, particularly those of Misses Sergeant and Gould

Among Mr Thompson's readers who have long envisaged Frost in pre-1960 image, the major reservation will no doubt reside in the question of whether the biographer, in his attempt to give a unified and coherent picture of Frost's life and character, has not excluded contradictory evidence in favor of too heavily weighted data of conflict, fear, and guilt. Perhaps only those who have equally comprehensive data and associations are in a position to challenge convincingly the implications of this first biographical volume. Yet it must be said that the very emphasis of the book constitutes a kind of tribute to the poet's triumph. By showing the "inner and outer faces of the poems," Mr Thompson has convincingly traced Frost's "trial by existence" and has estimated the costs as well as the genesis of his poetic achievement. Whatever the final "truth" about Frost may be, we may well remember his own recorded admonition: "Don't trust me too far—don't trust me on my life." Whatever our biographical uncertainties, we can trust the poetry itself.

*Ohio Wesleyan University*

BENJAMIN T. SPENCER

LETTERS OF WALLACE STEVENS. Selected and Edited by Holly Stevens.  
New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1966. xxxviii, 890, xxxix pp. \$17.50.

WALLACE STEVENS *Art of Uncertainty*. By Herbert J. Stern. Ann Arbor:  
University of Michigan Press, [1966]. x, 209 pp. \$5.95.

The handsome, expensive volume of *Letters* is bound to have an impact on our understanding of modern poetry, not to say Stevens's own. It may even upset some of our clichés about lay scholarship. In a phrase, its publication is a scholarly and literary "event." Conscientiously, if somewhat circumspectly, edited by his daughter, this selection brings together nearly one thousand entries, including a quarter of the available letters, some few from his father to Stevens, and something like a third of a "Journal" the young Stevens kept intermittently between 1898 and 1912. Many of the letters have been previously available (though not published), but the "Journal" and a majority of Stevens's crucial comments on his own verse have not, so that this collection constitutes a major new source book on the work of a man who is becoming our "central poet."

It is impossible now to determine whether anything substantial has been omitted, either on purpose or by oversight, in cutting the available material by one-third. But I should guess that not much has been. Miss



Stevens was accused by a reviewer in the national media of being over-protective of her father's own sedulously concealed private life. Yet, while it is true that some of the letters (especially those related to his Florida vacations in the thirties) have been discreetly, if not silently, edited, there is no real evidence that much of value, either to a critic or biographer, has been suppressed (Those letters, largely to Stevens's lawyer friend Philip May, are available at the Harvard Library). The poet's private life, whatever the minor indiscretions (and these are only vaguely suggested), remains what we have always thought it: more outwardly ordinary and bourgeois than sensational or bohemian, more contemplative than active. A dandy, perhaps, in certain tastes, he was too much committed to the mind's intricate humanness to allow himself to overindulge hedonistic impulses. Anyone who sets the letters beside the poems will be witness to the processes by which a poet refines out his baser and vulnerable self into the purer (but nowise perfect) forms of his making. If Miss Stevens had wished to protect her father, she might have edited out those embarrassing political (ambiguously pro-fascist) and racist (mostly slang) comments that occur now and then in his letters of the thirties and forties—remarks which indicate a personal asperity, and naiveté, not always excused by the context of private correspondence in which they appear. The poems of this time give us a less vulnerable person and reveal a truer struggle of the self against its prejudices.

Beginning with the "Journal" (a young aesthete's, or early Crispin's, musings and impressions which one might have wished published in its entirety), the volume moves easily between casual and direct observations on poetry and theory, and the general affairs of his day-to-day concerns with life and art. Of especial import are four extended periods of correspondence—with J. Ronald Lane Latimer, Henry Church, H. I. Simons, and Renato Poggioli—in which Stevens offered substantive comments on his own poems, in many cases extensive paraphrases of his long, reflective pieces. His habits of letter writing suggest that, once a correspondent indicated a genuine interest in the poetry and not in the person, Stevens tended to become progressively more open and responsive in his concern for being heard correctly. Once a friendship was established, he could drop masks and distancing manner, and enter naturally into the activity he enjoyed most: a meeting of minds about central problems, poetry. There is probably no fuller record anywhere of a poet's annotating his own work, for better or worse.

The scholar might wish for a more rigorous editorial method, and for a system of notation less redundant and more precisely informative. But Miss Stevens insists at the beginning that she does not wish to serve the

scholars exclusively or even primarily and that, after all, they can very well do their work for themselves. Weighing the gains against the minor loss of machinery, we should be very glad for what we have a volume intended to preserve what is relevant to the mind of a poet.

One cannot say the same for Mr Stern's book, which is something of an anachronism. In the first place, it claims to be the first study to build on the letters, but it is superseded immediately by the fuller volume of *Letters* and proves to have used but a limited number of them. In the second, it promises to offer a new perspective on the poetry (that Stevens's major theme and dilemma, to combine delight and intelligence in poetry, is present from the beginning), but does not acknowledge that previous studies have made this more than evident. The first thirty pages of this 160-page essay are given, thesis fashion, to a summary of Stevens's critical reputation. It is not essential to the theme, moreover, it uses much the same evidence and arrives at much the same conclusion (though it is not so inclusive) as my "Contours of Stevens Criticism," published in *ELH* in 1964 and again in *The Act of the Mind* in 1965. The point is not that Mr Stern should have noted this essay, it is that he did not need the chapter at all. Another substantial chapter on biography and poetics suffers too much from limited and fragmentary evidence to do either well. The criticism is restricted almost exclusively to a handful of better-known pieces from *Harmonium*, those most exhaustively treated by other critics. In all, it is a study which adds very little to William Van O'Connor's pioneering sketch in 1950, and nothing at all to what Roy Harvey Pearce, Frank Doggett, Daniel Fuchs, Frank Kermode, and Hillis Miller (among many others) have recently done—not to mention the most recent study of Stevens's early, formative years by Robert Buttel.

State University of New York at Buffalo

JOSEPH N RIDDEL

FAULKNER, THE MAJOR YEARS *A Critical Study* By Melvin Backman  
Bloomington, Ind. Indiana University Press [1966] ix, 212 pp  
\$5.75

By "The Major Years" Mr Backman means specifically 1929 (*Sartoris*) to 1942 (*Go Down, Moses*). Many, though not all, critics would agree with him that the earlier novels can be dismissed as slight apprentice work while those after 1942 reveal a definite decline of creative power. Because he has limited himself to the period of Faulkner's greatness, one expects from Mr Backman the equivalent of F. O. Matthiessen's treatment of Henry James in *Henry James: The Major Phase*. But the expectation is short-lived since the chronological approach is at odds

with the desire to examine the important novels in depth. Thus in 175 pages of text, not only are the major novels examined but so are books like *Sartoris*, *The Unvanquished*, and *The Wild Palms*, all of which are, by critical consensus, less than vintage Faulkner. On the other hand, the rationale of a major period is not always followed since *Pylon* (1935) is not analyzed, nor is its exclusion justified.

In his preface Mr Backman points out that he intends to prove no thesis but to try "by a close analysis of the works and their relationships, to make some sense of them" (p. ix). When one considers that since 1960 twenty books devoted to Faulkner have been published, this is an engagingly naive statement. Surely "some sense" of the novels has not only been made but made repeatedly and often repetitiously. The present book adds little to the standard interpretation as it addresses itself to each of the novels in the major period. It offers no challenges and very few extensions to criticism and scholarship. What it does do and do well is to convey one man's response to reading the novels of Faulkner, a man who is sensitive, literate, and informed. By his devotion to the texts themselves, he frequently affords us fresh and meaningful *aperçus* concerning individual images and symbols in Faulkner's works.

In a brief summarizing chapter Mr Backman considers "the comprehensive design which Faulkner himself saw behind these otherwise widely differing books." As part of it, he isolates certain continuing themes: an antipathy to sex which is associated with lust and incest, a nostalgic yearning for the lost innocence and natural love of childhood, a hostility toward the middle-class world, a desire to escape the uncongenial present for a mythic and desired past.

The persistence of these themes, according to Mr Backman, creates the characteristic sense of malaise if not despair in the novels of the major period. Offering a somewhat unsteady counterpoise to that despair is Faulkner's affirmation of a decent life defined as "love uncorrupted by lust, simplicity rather than complexity, innocence rather than guilt, strength and integration in place of weakness and fragmentation, and the will to live instead of the desire to die" (p. 183). The implicit conclusion is that—the following words are mine, not Mr Backman's—Faulkner is saved from his pessimism by his Rousseauism and vice-versa.

Mr Backman further suggests as part of his overview of the major years that the recurring themes, symbols, and images are interwoven with the novelist's own psychological problems. To illustrate he points out that Faulkner is able to identify closely, perhaps even dangerously so, with Bayard Sartoris and Quentin Compson but not with Horace

Benbow Since a definitive biography has not as yet appeared, the significance of this pattern of identification remains unexplored and Mr Backman falls back on examining aesthetic distance and objectivity He also asserts that both Faulkner and his work emerged "out of the prison of self to the community of people" (p 177) Mr Backman is not necessarily wrong, indeed most critics would agree with him The only question is how much fresh insight is cast upon either the novel or the writer by such a statement

At this point Faulkner has achieved the hazardous level of a high-rise American institution Mr Backman has contributed to that institution in a modest but relevant fashion His book offers a sensitive and unpretentious introduction to those novels that most casual readers wish to read

*University of California, Riverside*

OLGA W VICKERY

THE INFLUENCE OF EZRA POUND By K L Goodwin New York Oxford University Press 1966 xvi, 230 pp \$7 00

Mr Goodwin organizes his extensive subject into three parts *Interests and Friends*, Pound's associations from the early twentieth century to the present, *Major Influences*, Pound's impact on Yeats and Eliot, and *Lesser Influences*, Pound's effect on Williams, Marianne Moore, Hart Crane, Cummings, and MacLeish, along with a host of minor poets "What Pound passed on to his friends, acquaintances, and imitators," says Mr Goodwin, "was sometimes style, sometimes a tone, sometimes subject-matter, sometimes a form of construction" The emphasis here should, perhaps, be on the word "style," for the author is concerned chiefly with the imagistic "ideogrammic method" and its appearance in various forms throughout the whole range of modern poetry

Essentially a literary historian, Mr Goodwin never presses a case, as a matter of fact he concludes that "Pound has probably had no more influence than Hopkins, Yeats, or Eliot, and little more than Dylan Thomas or William Carlos Williams" The book performs a valuable service by specifying Pound's contributions, just as Noel Stock's *Poet in Exile* did so by sorting out the basic ideas in Pound's work The difficulty, however, is that neither study achieves a real synthesis nor offers any particularly original insight As an analyst of technical devices, Mr Goodwin eschews the whole question of philosophic affinities, and chooses, for example, to see what imagistic elements occur in the poetry of Charles Olson, while ignoring the visions of history and language in the *Cantos* and the *Maximus* poems As a surveyist, Mr Goodwin

cannot do justice to all the poets he discusses, he dismisses Basil Bunting without commenting adequately on the interesting "imitations" of Pound that appear in the *Active Anthology*, nor does he really come to terms with the American avant-garde poets, especially the Black Mountain School. His brief mention of Robert Duncan scarcely gives any hint of the profundity of this poet's involvement with Pound. For what he sets out to do, however, Mr. Goodwin achieves his purpose. Objective, informative, and well-written, the book is, when taken on its own terms, an important one.

University of Wisconsin

L. S. DEMBO

THE THIRTIES *Fiction, Poetry, Drama* Edited by Warren French. Deland, Florida: Everett Edwards [1967] ix, 253 pp. \$7.50

In *The Thirties Fiction, Poetry, Drama* we have eighteen essays on individual writers, five on background material, plus an introduction and three interlinking essays by Mr. French, and a selected check list of criticism by Jackson R. Bryer. Mr. French has done an admirable job of gathering essays that cover both the major (Wolfe, Steinbeck, Faulkner) and minor (James M. Cain, Richard Wright, Kenneth Fearing) figures of the period, that describe the political and literary background (the proletarian writers, the New Criticism, the Federal Theatre Project), and that consider transitional figures (Pound, Hemingway, and Fitzgerald). In some cases, Fitzgerald in particular, one might have hoped for a more specific discussion of how the thirties affected him and his work. The most serious omission is Hart Crane, who Mr. French puzzlingly feels belongs more to the twenties.

As might be expected, the essays are widely uneven. Most begin well and then sadly fade. The reason, I think, is because the topics are often too large for the space given to develop them (the average length is 2,500 words). As a result, the critic sometimes relies upon one short story to make sweeping points or speaks in vague generalities. In most cases, he gives the feeling of knowing more about his subject than he has been able to tell us.

Another difficulty rests with the subject. Many of the writers discussed here seem to exist in a hole in time, cut off from past and future, as if the thirties were self-enclosed. While Eleanor Widmer's essay on John Dos Passos, for example, is as good as anything I have read on Dos Passos (and by Dos Passos, for that matter), she is never able to ask the crucial question of what happened between *U S A* and *District of Columbia* because the scope of the book will not allow it.

Although it has limitations, *The Thirties* is still a valuable collection.

of essays. A number are superb—particularly Frederick Hoffman's article on Henry Miller (which insists upon the "continuity of 1910s, 1920s, and 1930s"), Donald Sheehan's essay on Wallace Stevens (which argues for the priority of Stevens's poetry and aesthetics over the political imperatives of the times), and Kingsley Widmer's piece on Nathanael West (which interprets *The Day of the Locust* in terms of a "human revolt against the dehumanizing mechanisms" of modern America). Warren French's introductory chapters are also helpful, effective in supplying an historical overview and in evaluating the merits of individual writers.

*University of California, Los Angeles*

RICHARD LEHAN

THE ABSURD HERO IN AMERICAN FICTION *Updike, Styron, Bellow, Salinger* By David D. Galloway Austin, Texas University of Texas Press [1966] xv, 257 pp. \$6.00

Mr. Galloway has chosen for comparison four American writers who seem to him to "share a vision of the spiritual sterility and loneliness of the modern environment strikingly similar to the absurd universe which Camus describes in the *Myth of Sisyphus*." A great deal has happened, of course, philosophically and fictionally since *The Myth of Sisyphus* was published in 1942. To keep the idea of the absurd simple and flexible enough to be a "useful critical tool," Mr. Galloway refrains from treating other existentialist and phenomenological writers, or even Camus's own modifications of his ideas in *The Rebel*.

It turns out that none of the four Americans really fits the Camus pattern. Updike is primarily concerned with saintliness, with Christ figures. The intimacies of the Glass family, their dabbling in Eastern mysticism, and their discovery of the Fat Lady as Christ take Salinger very far in spirit from Camus. In *Herzog* Bellow is scornful of the comfortable who play "at crisis, alienation, apocalypse and desperation," who tout the "void as if it were so much salable real estate." Though Mr. Galloway had quoted Camus as insisting that man must create his own values "without the help of the Eternal or of rationalistic thought," Styron is judged against a concept of tragedy affirming the "*logos* of the universe," a world governed by "rational reasons."

Clearly Mr. Galloway is himself responsive to belief in "*something* out there, some convergence of individual consciousness in the formation of transcendent values." He also manages to fit his writers' movement from alienation to communion into Northrop Frye's mythic seasonal-genre-quest pattern. In the resultant philosophic blurring we get a good many rather loosely defined "stances," such as "Zooey's ultimate, tran-

scendent 'love' stance" Though significant differences among the writers emerge in the course of Mr Galloway's comparison, *The Absurd Hero* offers little that is new to those who have read Ihab Hassan's *Radical Innocence* and Marcus Klein's *After Alienation*

A useful appendix contains separate check lists of the publications of the four writers and of reviews and critical articles devoted to them Since the critical articles are arranged by years (at least fifty a year on Salinger in his peak period) and are not annotated, we must depend on titles and our knowledge of their authors to guess at their character and value

Columbia University

ROBERT GORHAM DAVIS

THE FURIOUS PASSAGE OF JAMES BALDWIN By Fern Marja Eckman New York M Evans and Company [1966] 254 pp \$4.50

The author of this study, who has won a number of awards in journalism, has not succeeded in her first attempt at literary biography A prisoner of her own professional training, Mrs Eckman has allowed journalistic habits of mind and modes of expression to set the tone of her book The result is a breezy account of Baldwin's life which contributes in no significant respect to an understanding of his art

The book operates on the principle of contiguity, beginning with the notion of a celebrity, and assuming that every person, place, or thing with which the sacred presence comes in contact is automatically invested with significance This is a form of primitive magic, at least as old as relics from the True Cross, and is the active principle in the packaging and sale of such diverse commodities as the Beatles, Copper-tone, and the *New York Post* But celebrity-mongering will not do in the world of literary scholarship, where value cannot be established by association

From the newspaper world, Mrs Eckman has learned the art of trivialization She conducts exhaustive researches into insignificance, ferreting everything out, leaving no document unturned In chapters dealing with Baldwin's education, we have interviews with former principals, teachers, and classmates, juvenilia from school publications, grades in Spanish and plane geometry, scores on the Regents examinations, and entries from a pupil-evaluation form called the General Organization Character Card Nothing is missing except a shaping intelligence

Mrs Eckman's style is corrupted by the technique of the taped interview Essentially her book consists of a string of these tapes, for which she has supplied the "continuity" In the interests of accurate transcrip-

tion, she attempts to convey, through a series of italics, the intonations and inflections of Baldwin's speech. But in so doing, she fails to preserve a necessary distinction between the spoken and the written word.

Finally, in the hallowed tradition of the mass media, Mrs. Eckman has given us a vulgar success story. Her focus is on Baldwin's *career*, she is fascinated by the sums of money he is able to command at various stages of the game. Under this treatment, Baldwin becomes any boy from the slums who has made it, indistinguishable in status and stardom from Sammy Davis or Frank Sinatra.

The canker at the center of this book is the author's value system. Mrs. Eckman counts upon a vulgar concept of success and a vulgar curiosity to attract and hold her readers. Shreds of literary gossip and patches of inside dope are her stock in trade. James Baldwin deserves a less American biographer.

*Teachers College, Columbia University*

ROBERT BONE

LITERATURE AND THEATER OF THE STATES AND REGIONS OF THE USA *An Historical Bibliography* By Clarence Gohdes. Durham, N.C. Duke University Press. 1967. ix, 276 pp. \$10.00.

Clarence Gohdes is convinced that local history needs stimulation and that many libraries are unable to provide adequate facilities for its study. As a consequence, he has compiled this invaluable historical bibliography of the local and regional materials of the United States. The sixty-two divisions include all the fifty states, certain American possessions which have not yet acquired statehood, and typical regions such as the Southwest and Northwest. Various kinds of materials are included—books, monographs, anthologies, and periodical articles, but such categories as folklore are omitted as well as studies of individual authors unless they have a wide frame of reference. The result of the compiler's careful research in the major libraries of the country is an enormously useful reference tool.

There are some interesting disparities in the amount of material covered. The Canal Zone is represented by a single item, the Virgin Islands by three, Nevada by fifteen, South Dakota by twenty-five, Oklahoma by thirty-five. Puerto Rico with nineteen has more than Alaska with fifteen or Idaho with eighteen. At the other end of the scale, the Middle West gets nearly six pages, New England merits more than six pages, while some twenty-two pages are required to cover New York (bulging because of theatrical references).

To pick a single state at random, Tennessee has fifty-five general items and twenty-one items relating to the theater, chiefly in Memphis



and Nashville. The material garnered for the Volunteer State includes citations of literary and historical bibliographies, historical journals, studies of early imprints, compilations of Tennessee data devised for classrooms and women's clubs presentation, theatrical chronicles, municipal histories, and studies of Tennessee poetry and fiction which appeared in such national periodicals as *Commonweal*, the *Saturday Review of Literature*, and the *New Republic*. Donald Davidson, John Crowe Ransom, and Edmund Wilson are some of the contributors of articles levied on here.

Mr. Gohdes modestly disclaims absolute accuracy in this compendium, pointing out that some items could not be finally checked and that some others are incomplete. But errors are conspicuously absent. A major problem was the need to avoid duplication of listing. Some material is listed under Regionalism or even the Middle West which might with equal appropriateness have been included under the individual state headings. But the reader is warned about this editorial decision and is urged to consult various listings before abandoning his quest. Oddly enough, one item, Harold E. Briggs and Ernestine Briggs, "The Early Theatre on the Northern Plains," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. 37 (1950), is cited three times—pp. 109, 123, and 257-258, an honor accorded to no other item.

The work will be of inestimable importance to librarians hoping to build up their incomplete local and regional collections, and it will certainly stimulate interest in neglected fields and topics among researchers in literature and history. The Gohdes check list will provide an indispensable starting point for anyone interested in building up a research collection of regional cultural material.

*University of Illinois, Urbana*

JOHN T. FLANAGAN

AMERICAN INTELLECTUAL HISTORIES AND HISTORIANS. By Robert Allen Skotheim. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1966. xii, 326 pp. \$6.95.

This is the first monograph entirely devoted to the historiography of American intellectual history. Its first chapter discusses briefly several writers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries but focuses on Moses Coit Tyler and Edward Eggleston. Other chapters treat twentieth-century historians, especially James Harvey Robinson, Charles Beard, Carl Becker, Vernon Parrington, Merle Curti, Samuel Morison, Perry Miller, and Ralph Gabriel. Mr. Skotheim has appended a useful essay indicating how other authors have previously approached the subject. His

own treatment is, however, unique in the way in which he develops the thesis that in the twentieth century "the progressive tradition" dominated the writing of the history of ideas until the forties, but that by the forties challenges to that tradition "were in full force and by the 1950's progressive histories were no longer dominant in America" The impact of totalitarianism, Mr Skotheim believes, played a part in the effectiveness of the challenges

The progressives, including Robinson, Beard, Becker, Parrington, and Curti, according to Mr Skotheim, had in common the philosophical base of James's pragmatism and Dewey's instrumentalism, the belief that ideas developed from the environment, a commitment to reform, and confidence in the effectiveness of the social sciences The principal challengers, Morison, Miller, and Gabriel, considered ideas as "significant causal factors in history," argued that the "non-intellectual" environment was "not sufficient to 'explain' ideas which developed," and "looked favorably upon established traditions" Mr Skotheim sees Gabriel as making the most serious attack on the progressives Gabriel insisted unequivocally that there are certain enduring values and, like Perry Miller, analyzed the content of ideas in greater depth than "most of the progressive historians," thus emphasizing the "creativity and autonomy of the human mind"

Mr Skotheim's final conclusion is that in studies since World War II by such writers as Commager and Persons, there is some "convergence" between the views of the progressives and their challengers At the same time he sees historians of ideas, such as Goldman, the younger Schlesinger, and Hofstadter, abandoning the comprehensive history of ideas but including ideas as a part of studies of specialized topics and also making use of the tools and findings of other disciplines

*American Intellectual Histories and Historians* is a thoughtful study The carefulness with which the conclusions are drawn is indicated by the difficulties which the author admits in clearly placing historians within a category The progressives, Becker and Parrington, for example, treat ideas in as much depth as do the challengers, Morison and Gabriel Gabriel does recognize the environment as a powerful factor in producing ideas and values in spite of his insistence that some values are changeless And Robinson is described by Mr Skotheim as "an 'environmental-relativist' when destructively criticizing ideas which he disliked, and a 'progressive-absolutist' when praising ideas of which he approved" Although such terms and the way in which the historians themselves shifted ground may create some confusion, this is not designed as a book for quick reading A brief review can only touch some

of its ideas. Anyone interested in American historiography should digest it carefully.

Duke University

RICHARD L. WATSON, JR.

PERFORMING ARTS *The Economic Dilemma* By William J. Baumol and William G. Bowen. New York: The Twentieth Century Fund, 1966. xvi, 582 pp. \$7.50.

Without question this is the most careful and thorough analysis of the economic status of the performing arts in the United States yet to appear. It will be indispensable to the managers of theater, opera, music, and dance enterprises, and particularly to the boards of trustees and governmental officials who must devise the financial structures that will nurture the performing arts.

All of the evidence—and it is massive and exhaustive—clearly indicates that the “income gap” (expenditures minus earnings) for performing groups across the country now ranges from 15 to 45 per cent of expenditures, a national total of from twenty to twenty-three million dollars per year, and that it is growing at an annual rate of about 6 per cent and thus will almost double in the next ten years. Unfortunately the inherent nature of live performances does not permit the kind of technological advances and labor-saving innovations that have supported the growth in other segments of our economy. The “gap” can be filled in a small way by advancing ticket prices and by obtaining capacity audiences, but it can really be filled only by a radically enlarged tap on philanthropic sources, both private and corporate, and, most promising the authors believe, by expanding governmental participation at all levels, municipal, state, and federal.

In their chapter “On the Rationale of Public Support”—one of the best in the book—they explore with remarkable objectivity all of the principal arguments on both sides, giving full voice to the view that “the people as a whole should [not] be forced to pay for the entertainment of a few.” They conclude that the performing arts, like education, are *private* goods that yield benefits to the individual purchaser but also provide *public* service, because they enrich society as a whole. Our government must allocate funds from the nation’s resources to public-benefit enterprises that cannot be fully supported by the public market.

Although the economic picture is most clearly sketched and interpreted in the text, the generous supply of tables, graphs, and questionnaires not only makes many details more vivid but will be invaluable to those persons with special interests. One could hope that Messrs

Baumol and Bowen will bring us up to date with a similar study in four or five years

*Indiana University*

RICHARD MOODY

THE ARTIST IN AMERICAN SOCIETY *The Formative Years 1790-1860* By  
Neil Harris New York George Braziller [1966] xvi, 432 pp  
\$7.50

In view of the immense labor that has gone to the making of this book I wish I could review it with enthusiasm. The labor is, indeed, immense of the 448 pages that make up the study ninety-five or almost one-fifth of the total are devoted to the bibliography and the annotations. Mr. Harris seems to have consulted everything in print or manuscript that might conceivably bear on his subject not only in the American field but in what seemed to him relevant European sources. The result is a bibliography that others are bound to plunder and be grateful for. Perhaps his endless source material is the cause of his difficulties for, unwilling to discard any part of these treasures, he has allowed his erudition to overwhelm his subject, to the loss of a clear perspective that might have led to a better, because less over-stuffed, scholarly contribution. I think his difficulties are two: his style, and his inability to stick to the straight line of an argument in the Miltonic sense of argument as theme.

The style first. It is muddier in the opening portions of his work and clears later, but it nowhere shows much labor of the file. He is unwilling to reject the cumbersome language of sociology and social historians though he is writing about arts and artists in America. Here is a typical sentence of the heavy-handed sort: "By harnessing art's abstractions to conservative social goals, by invoking the power of institutions, these publicists sought to press the artist into the service of their moralistic ideals." How does one harness an abstraction? How does one press an artist into service? Is there some hidden meaning in "moralistic ideals" that requires this pejorative version of something like a moral aim? This sentence is in the preface, but the reader is at a loss to know who the "publicists" may be. Or take this unprovable assertion: "As time passed, guilt-ridden Americans grew fond of explaining that the earliest settlers had no art because they lacked the time to create one, the effort of subduing a wilderness demanded a total commitment of energy." This is on p. 2, yet a few lines later one reads that despite the total commitment to subduing the wilderness, seventeenth-century colonials produced "hundreds of treatises" concerned with free will and

the nature of conversion. Perhaps. But how does the author know that all Americans were guilt-ridden?

And when has art characteristically been nourished in the wilderness—art, that is, in the European sense of high art? When the colonists had settled more or less comfortably in their little seaboard communities, the arts, music, and the amenities gradually developed. I see nothing wonderful about the process. And it seems quite unnecessary to diag in a fashionable phrase like “guilt” or “guilt-ridden” to deal with later explanations. But “guilt” is like King Charles’s head that bothered Mr. Dick in *David Copperfield*, on the very last page of the text one reads “But a later generation would feel embarrassment and guilt for the awe-inspiring naiveté of this native school.” Well, as one who has read a good many biographies and autobiographies concerned with the arts in America, I can testify only that I have found small trace, if any, of “guilt” in later generations of commentators, most of whom said that most early American art (painting) was not very good, or took the position that it was, if not first-rate, sometimes interesting as art and commonly interesting as document. But as Mr. Harris is capable of saying of purchases of art by Charles I of England that “whole collections disappeared in one gulp” and of West, Copley, and Peale that they “grew up in centers of Puritan culture,” I am afraid that he uses words in particular ways. Boston during the Stamp Act years and later was not quite a center of “Puritan” culture but a rather ribald seaport, and so was Philadelphia. Mr. Harris makes the common error of calling middle-class taboos and values Puritan.

I have been thus particular about the oddities of Mr. Harris’s style because he has nevertheless an important theme. It is true that he has very little to say about the South. It is true that for him the designers of cemeteries have something to do with the arts (why not typographers?). It is true that he calls the Studio Building on West Tenth Street in New York “an artistic Valhalla,” though it was not occupied by either divinities or the dead but by artists as lively as Frederic E. Church. It is true also that before we get to the main theme of the book we have to pass through a wilderness of citations or summaries of what Sir Joshua Reynolds said, or what Diderot said, or what David Hume said about art, or art and luxury (Hume, it appears, was “popular in the New World,” which is not the judgment of historians of philosophy in America). But these and other curiosities out of the way, Mr. Harris settles down to a series of chapters about the arts and artists in America. Much that he says can be paralleled in other histories of the subject, but he deals with many phases of this complex problem richly and sometimes shrewdly.

He has, for example, two chapters on European travel both by Americans in general who went with a particular bias about art, and by American painters and sculptors who went for culture or for technical instruction or both. Then as later, when the first Guggenheim Fellows in art went abroad, the American was sometimes overwhelmed by the amount of art in the world, though in this connection it should not be forgotten that the public museum was rarer then than now and that the traveler had to secure permission to see great pictures that were in private hands. He has a chapter on the artistic community as this developed in the United States. He takes transcendentalist theorizing about art more seriously than I can, their one artist of repute was Allston, whose powers were beginning to fail, nor have I been persuaded that transcendental aesthetic theory had much vogue in the country as a whole or that the transcendentalists as a group saw much good art—they saw, I think, fewer objects of art than did cultivated members of the New York mercantile elite. And he does something with the various academies, art unions, and dealers of the period. The one thing that would have made the study unique and memorable would be an investigation into the income of easel artists as compared with the income of other professions, but for this, I take it, it is impossible to acquire sufficient reliable data.

Much that Mr. Harris chronicles is by no means unique to America or attributable to the fact that the United States was “new.” Step by step, many general phases of artistic life in America and of the support of the arts in the nineteenth century were paralleled or preceded in Great Britain or on the Continent. The journals of Benjamin Haydon and of some of his contemporaries show that the life of the artist and the support of the arts, once royal and aristocratic patronage weakened or vanished, were very like the difficulties Americans struggled to overcome. Murger’s *Vie de Bohême* may be sentimental nonsense, but the Frenchmen talked about the crassness of the bourgeoisie in terms like those Mr. Harris has dug up for Americans. If traveling Yankees were gulled into buying fraudulent “old masters,” so were traveling John Bulls. Painters slanged the Royal Academy in terms resembling those showered on academies in this country. I much doubt that Americans had any special visual acuity, though one of Mr. Harris’s sources seems to say so, and I think the education of the perceptive eye followed much the same track among Americans that it followed in Britain, France, and Germany. The astonishing thing is less how backward American development was than how quickly the Americans, as it were, fell into line. I could have spared a good many of Mr. Harris’s citations from novels by Henry James or E. P. Roe, published, in certain instances,

fifteen or twenty years after his study theoretically concludes, and read in their places a little more thoughtful consideration of how far the American problem was simply one phase of the general problem of the arts in the Western world. If it be true, as Mr. Harris asserts, that generous patrons made the period from 1840 to 1860 "the brightest and most hopeful moment [*sic*] in the history of American art," it should not be overlooked that the patronage of art by the mercantile elite in Manchester, England, during approximately the same period was a notable "moment" in the history of British art.

*Harvard University*

HOWARD MUMFORD JONES

## BRIEF MENTION

AMERICAN LITERARY SCHOLARSHIP *An Annual/1965* Edited by James Woodress Indexed by Joseph M Flora Durham, NC Duke University Press 1967 xi, 303 pp \$6 00

This is the third volume in a standard series. A "Miscellaneous" chapter reappears, covering both 1964 and 1965, and a chapter on folklore has been newly added. Mr Flora's index adds materially to the ease with which the handbook can be used.

THE YEAR'S WORK IN ENGLISH STUDIES *Volume XLV, 1964* Edited by T S Dorsch and C G Harlow Published for the English Association New York Humanities Press [1966] 423 pp \$6 75

American literature is covered on pages 355-404, with Geoffrey Moore noticing the books and T R Arp the articles. Once in a while materials are included which are not covered by the more extensive *American Literary Scholarship An Annual*, edited by James Woodress.

LITERARY RECORDINGS *A Checklist of the Archive of Recorded Poetry and Literature in the Library of Congress* Washington, DC Library of Congress 1966 iv, 190 pp Paper, \$70

This list brings the inventory of the Library's holdings up through June, 1965. Orders for copies should be sent to the Superintendent of Documents, U S Government Printing Office, Washington, DC 20402.

BACKGROUNDS OF AMERICAN LITERARY THOUGHT By Rod W Horton and Herbert W Edwards Second Edition New York Appleton-Century-Crofts [1967] xii, 538 pp Paper, \$2 25

An offset reprint of a work (originally published in 1952 and expanded in 1964) which outlines in an elementary fashion ideological backgrounds, from Puritanism to Existentialism.

AMERICA IN FICTION *An Annotated List of Novels That Interpret Aspects of Life in the United States, Canada, and Mexico* By Otis W Coan and Richard G Lillard Fifth Edition Palo Alto, Calif Pacific Books 1967 viii, 232 pp \$5 50

The new edition of this standard guide is organized under the following general headings: Pioneering, Farm and Village Life, Industrial



America, Politics and Institutions, Religion, and Minority Ethnic groups Under a variety of subheadings appear novels on such topics as The Northwest, The Old South, The Civil War and Reconstruction, Schools and Colleges The annotations draw attention to the contents of the novels, and in the selection "substantial realistic books" have been favored The guide was formerly published by Stanford University Press

STUDIES IN BIBLIOGRAPHY *Volume Twenty* Edited by Fredson Bowers  
Charlottesville, Va University Press of Virginia 1967 vi, 298 pp  
\$10 00

The latest number of this standard publication includes material on Faulkner, Hawthorne, Irving, Howells, Stephen Crane, and Henry James

THE RECEPTION OF UNITED STATES LITERATURE IN GERMANY By Lawrence Marsden Price Chapel Hill, NC University of North Carolina Press 1966 246 pp \$6 00

Mr Price surveys the history of the reception of American authors in Germany by proceeding "selectively," and at times he uses his bibliography to fill in the gaps He is most at home with his preliminary excursions into the attitude of various German writers toward America The main body of his outline treats the reputations and translations of the nineteenth-century poets and prose writers and several more recent novelists and playwrights His bibliography covers pages 191-231 and in itself is useful

THE MACHINE IN THE GARDEN *Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America* By Leo Marx New York Oxford University Press 1967 392 pp Paper, \$2 25

A welcome reprint of an extremely thoughtful venture into cultural symbolism which brings such writers as Jefferson, Emerson, Melville, and Thoreau into its central focus and casts fitful rays of light on quite a few other literary figures

FRENCH THEATRE IN NEW YORK *A List of Plays, 1899-1939* By Hamilton Mason New York AMS Press 1966 viii, 442 pp \$7 50

FRENCH CRITICISM OF AMERICAN LITERATURE BEFORE 1850 By Harold Elmer Mantz New York AMS Press 1966 viii, 165 pp \$8 00

THE EARLY GERMAN THEATRE IN NEW YORK, 1840-1872 By Fritz A H Leuchs New York AMS Press 1966 xxi, 298 pp \$10 00

AMERICAN LITERATURE IN SPAIN By John De Lancey Ferguson New York AMS Press 1966 xiii, 267 pp \$9.00

Reprints of works which have been unavailable for many years, but are still of use to researchers

LIFE AND DEATH OF RICHARD MATHER (1670) By Increase Mather Facsimile Reprint, with an Introduction by Benjamin Franklin V and William K. Bottorff Athens, Ohio Early American Studies Press iv, 38 pp Paper, \$3.00

The sketch was originally published in Cambridge, Massachusetts in 1670

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN AND AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE By Esmond Wright Mystic, Conn. Lawrence Verry, Inc. [1966] vi, 181 pp \$3.00

A pleasantly written little book, meant for popular consumption, from the pen of the Professor of Modern History in the University of Glasgow and Chairman of the British Association for American Studies

THE BLACK POET *Being the Remarkable Story (Partly Told by Himself) of George Moses Horton* By Richard Walser New York Philosophical Library [1966] viii, 120 pp \$3.50

This little volume presents all that is known about the Negro poet George M. Horton, who served for a time as a janitor at the University of North Carolina

THE COLONIAL VIRGINIA SATIRIST *Mid-Eighteenth-Century Commentaries on Politics, Religion, and Society* Edited by Richard B. Davis *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, N. S. Vol. 57, Part I (March, 1967) Philadelphia American Philosophical Society 1967 74 pp Paper, \$2.00

Verse and prose satires, reproduced from manuscripts in the Huntington Library and the Library of the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

THE FOREIGNER IN EARLY AMERICAN DRAMA *A Study in Attitudes* By Kent G. Gallagher The Hague Mouton 1966 206 pp GUIL 24

An apprentice work which discusses the problem of identifying a "foreigner" and then proceeds to classify and describe certain types (e.g.,

"sympathetic," "comic") 'Early' drama includes plays published prior to 1830

WITH THE BARK ON *Popular Humor of the Old South* Compiled and Edited, with an Introduction and Notes, by John Q. Anderson  
Nashville Vanderbilt University Press 1967 xi, 337 pp \$7.50

An anthology of the work of the minor humorists who wrote principally for the newspapers of the Old Southwest between 1835 and 1860. The texts are derived largely from the New York *Spirit of the Times*, and very few of them have had currency in recent collections. Since files of Porter's journal are very scarce, the collection is all the more valuable to the professional student. The editorial matter makes graceful use of the existing scholarship on the subject, and the book makes pleasant reading.

FRANKLIN EVANS OR THE INEBRIATE *A Tale of the Times* By Walter Whitman Edited by Jean Downey New Haven, Conn. College & University Press [1967] 187 pp \$4.50, Paper, \$1.95

A reprint of Whitman's temperance novel, which has been hard to come by. It is in a series called "Masterworks of Literature," which includes a score of other scarce titles such as Timothy Flint's *Memoir of Daniel Boone*, Susanna Rowson's *Charlotte Temple*, Longfellow's *Kavanaugh*, J. W. De Forest's *Witching Times*, and Fenimore Cooper's *The Bravo*. The introductions vary in quality.

MARK TWAIN *The Man and His Work* By Edward Wagenknecht Third Edition Norman, Okla. University of Oklahoma Press [1967] xiii, 302 pp \$4.95

Mr. Wagenknecht provides "A Commentary on Mark Twain Criticism and Scholarship Since 1960," which adds materially to the scholar's interest in this well-known study. The "commentary" is intended to point out the "directions in which scholarship [on Mark Twain] has traveled" during the period "and to indicate the sources that must be consulted to bring the records up to date."

SELECTED MARK TWAIN-HOWELLS LETTERS 1872-1910 Edited by Frederick Anderson, William M. Gibson, and Henry Nash Smith Cambridge, Mass. Belknap Press of Harvard University Press 1967 xiv, 453 pp \$9.95

A selection, with primary appeal to the general reader, from the two-

volume collection of the Clemens-Howells correspondence published by the Harvard Press in 1960. Specialists should note that two additional letters are included for the first time, one dated March 13, 1873, and the other December 21, 1874.

SHERWOOD ANDERSON *An Introduction and Interpretation* By David D. Anderson. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston [1967] x, 182 pp. Paper, \$1.95.

A handy reprint of a book distributed in hard cover by Barnes & Noble. Others in the series ("American Authors and Critics") are *Henry Adams*, by George Hochfield, *James Fenimore Cooper*, by Warren S. Walker, *Hart Crane*, by Samuel Hazo, *Emily Dickinson*, by John B. Pickard, *William Faulkner*, by Lawrance Thompson, *Nathaniel Hawthorne*, by Arlin Turner, *Ernest Hemingway*, by Sheridan Baker, *John Steinbeck*, by Joseph Fontenrose, *Mark Twain*, by Frank Baldanza, *John Greenleaf Whittier*, by John B. Pickard, and *Thomas Wolfe*, by Richard Walser. Each volume carries a selected bibliography.

EXIT TO ELSINORE. By William A. Sutton. Ball State Monograph Number Seven. Muncie, Ind.: Ball State University, 1967. vi, 45 pp. Paper, no charge.

A study of Sherwood Anderson's Elyria period—1907-1913—which contains new documents concerned with the novelist's mental disturbance.

DIE VERSAUFFASSUNG BEI GERARD MANLEY HOPKINS, DEN IMAGISTEN UND T. S. ELIOT *Renaissance Altgermanischen Formgestaltens in der Dichtung des 20. Jahrhunderts*. By Kurt R. Jankowsky. Munich: Max Hueber [1967] 338 pp. Paper, DM 19.80.

The effort to trace their verse forms back to Germanic sources is more rewarding in the case of Hopkins than it is in the case of Eliot or the Imagists.

THE KINGDOM OF ART *Willa Cather's First Principles and Critical Statements 1893-1896*. Selected and Edited, with Two Essays and a Commentary, by Bernice Slotte. Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press [1967] xiv, 489 pp. \$8.95.

This book provides selections from Willa Cather's critical work published in newspapers and college magazines prior to her removal from Nebraska to the East. In an appendix appear essays on Carlyle and on

Shakespeare (1891) and an uncollected short story (1893) in which use is made of the Virginia background. In another appendix two interviews with the author are reprinted from newspapers (1913 and 1915). A check list of the author's "critical and personal writing" (1891-1896) brings up the rear. Miss Slote supplies extensive commentary which incorporates new biographical material.

The book makes quite an addition to our knowledge of the apprentice work of a major writer. (A further collection of Willa Cather's articles and reviews from the years 1893-1903 is announced as forthcoming.)

ROBERT FROST AND THE LAWRENCE, MASSACHUSETTS, 'HIGH SCHOOL BULLETIN' *The Beginning of a Literary Career*. Edited by Edward C. Lathem and Lawrence Thompson. New York: The Grolier Club, 1966. 94 pp. \$20.00.

Frost's connections with his high school magazine are set forth in detail, and the four issues which he edited are reproduced in facsimile. The book is of major importance to Frost specialists, for it provides a comprehensive record of the poet's earliest work to appear in print.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE. By H. L. Mencken. Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, [1967]. xiii, 304 pp. \$8.50.

A reprint of a work originally published in 1908 and further expanded and revised in 1913. Since Mencken was one of the earliest Americans to write a book on Nietzsche and the enormous impact of Nietzsche's ideas on American literature has scarcely been examined, the usefulness of the reprint speaks for itself.

SEVEN CONTEMPORARY AUTHORS *Essays on Cozzens, Miller, West, Golding, Heller, Albee, and Powers*. Edited with an Introduction by Thomas B. Whitbread. Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, [1966]. xv, 175 pp. \$5.00.

Seven members of the English Department of the University of Texas participated in a series of public lectures in Austin in 1964-1965, and the present book is the result.

ARTHUR MILLER, DRAMATIST. By Edward Murray. New York: Ungar, [1967]. ix, 186 pp. Paper, \$1.95.

Analysis of the plots plus sensible critical remarks on seven of Miller's plays: *All My Sons*, *Death of a Salesman*, *The Crucible*, *A Memory of*

*Two Mondays, A View from the Bridge, After the Fall, and Incident at Vichy* A brief conclusion (pp 179-182) is followed by a bibliography

THE AMERICAN THEATER TODAY Edited by Alan S Downer New York  
Basic Books [1967] ix, 212 pp \$5 95

The chapters in this collection were originally broadcast over the Voice of America The first three deal with background, such as "The Playwrights of the 1930's," by Malcolm Goldstein The second section begins with a summary of "Broadway after World War II," by Elliot Norton, and "Comedy and the Comic Spirit in America," by Eric Bentley, after which come discussions of Wilder, Williams, and Miller Part III is introduced by "The Problems of the Producer," from the pen of Richard Barr, and proceeds with interviews with Edward Albee, Murray Schisgal, Sheldon Harnick, and Jerry Bock The "tributary" theater is discussed in Part IV, with essays on "The Noncommercial Theater in New York," by Bernard F Dukore, "The Professional Theater and the Universities," by Arthur Lithgow, and "The Educational Theater in America," by Edwin B Pettet Mr Downer provides an epilogue on "The Future of the American Theater" He concludes with the belief that the history of the theater displayed since World War I is likely to be paralleled in the foreseeable future

AMERICAN DRAMA CRITICISM *Interpretations, 1890-1965 Inclusive, of American Drama since the First Play Produced in America* Compiled by Helen H Palmer and Jane A Dyson Hamden, Conn  
Shoe String Press 1967 239 pp \$7 50

Lists sources of comment which appeared in books, periodicals, and monographs—but is far from complete

PULITZER'S POST-DISPATCH 1878-1883 By Julian S Rammekamp Princeton, NJ Princeton University Press 1967 xiii, 326 pp \$7 50

An account of Pulitzer's apprentice years in yellow journalism, with special emphasis on his crusades for public causes during a period when St Louis was marked by a "middle-class" interest in reform Students of American humor should pick up Mr Rammekamp's references to a humorous column begun in the eighties by "Officer Magoogin, the Talking Policeman"—the *Post-Dispatch's* counterpart to Mr Dooley

JAZZ MASTERS OF NEW ORLEANS By Martin Williams New York Macmillan [1967] xvii, 287 pp \$5 95

The "stories," popularly rendered, of various performers, including Buddy Bolden, Jelly Roll Morton, Sidney Bechet, and Red Allen Each account is followed by a list of recordings (when available) and references

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF GEORGIA AUTHORS 1949-1965 By John W Bonner, Jr Athens, Ga University of Georgia Press [1966] vii, 266 pp \$6 00

Mr Bonner assembles here his lists of works by Georgia authors which originally appeared annually in the *Georgia Review* The books are registered by author, title, publisher, date, and price, and the annotations are descriptive rather than critical

TAR HEELS TRACK THE CENTURY By Pocahontas Wight Edmunds Raleigh, N C Edwards & Broughton 1966 vii, 355 pp \$8 95

Among the sketches of North Carolinians in this volume appear screeds on O Henry and Thomas Wolfe

HEARTLAND *Poets of the Midwest* Edited by Lucien Stryk De Kalb, Ill Northern Illinois University Press [1967] xxvi, 262 pp \$6 50, Paper, \$2 75

An anthology of contemporary poetry by twenty-nine Midwesterners

PRINT IN A WILD LAND By John M Myers Garden City, N Y Doubleday 1967 xii, 274 pp \$5 95

An effort to give an idea of "how frontier men of print lived, together with some notion of what they achieved, or failed to, in the face of the problems posed by a newly settled region" (Foreword) The book offers pleasant browsing, laced as it is with excerpts and selections of an amusing variety

HISTORY IN CHILDREN'S BOOKS *An Annotated Bibliography* Compiled by Zena Sutherland McKinley Bibliographies, Volume V Brooklawn, NJ McKinley Publishing Co 1967 248 pp \$8 50

Pages 105-213 deal with the United States The emphasis is on non-fiction

HEGEL'S FIRST AMERICAN FOLLOWERS *The Ohio Hegelians* John B Stallo, Peter Kaufmann, Moncure Conway, and August Willich, with Key Writings By Loyd D Easton Athens, Ohio Ohio University Press 1966 ix, 353 pp \$7 00

Stallo's writings gave considerable currency to Hegel's views, and Conway had a literary connection with both Emerson and Whitman

THE NEGRO IN AMERICAN LITERATURE AND A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF LITERATURE BY AND ABOUT NEGRO AMERICANS By Abraham Chapman Oshkosh, Wis Wisconsin Council of Teachers of English [1966] 135 pp Paper, \$2 00

The compiler calls his list a "work in progress"

SELECTIVE BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR THE STUDY OF ENGLISH & AMERICAN LITERATURE Third Edition By Richard D Altick and Andrew Wright New York Macmillan [1967] xii, 152 pp Paper, \$2 50

About fifty items are added to this new edition of a practical manual

BOOK TYPOGRAPHY 1815-1965 IN EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA Edited with an Introduction by Kenneth Day Chicago University of Chicago Press [1967] xxiii, 401 pp \$17 50

A translation of a work originally published (1965) in the Netherlands The section on the United States (pp 327-370) is the product of James M Wells

DICTIONARY OF AMERICAN SLANG Compiled and Edited by Harold Wentworth and Stuart Berg Flexner, with a Supplement by Stuart Berg Flexner New York Crowell [1967] xviii, 718 pp \$7 95

More than a thousand new terms and expressions are added to the original list, first published in 1960

THE AMERICAN POLITICAL DICTIONARY By Jack C Plano and Milton Greenberg Second Edition New York Holt, Rinehart and Winston [1967] xiii, 401 pp Paper, \$4 95

New and revised entries plus a cross-reference system mark this new edition of an elementary manual on political terms and expressions



QUOTEMANSHIP *The Use and Abuse of Quotations for Polemical and Other Purposes* By Paul F. Boller, Jr. Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press [1967] xiii, 454 pp. \$7.95

"An Analysis of how quotations have come to be utilized in the United States on polemical, forensic, partisan, disputative, and argumentative occasions, and an effort to classify the different ways—both valid and invalid—in which quotations have been and may be so utilized." Journalists and politicians provide the chief exemplars.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF AESTHETICS AND OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE FINE ARTS FROM 1900 TO 1932. Compiled by William A. Hammond. Revised and Enlarged Edition. New York: Russell & Russell [1967] x, 205 pp. \$7.50

A reprint of a standard list first published in 1933-1934.

## RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

### I DISSERTATIONS ON INDIVIDUAL AUTHORS

- The Comic Element in the Novels of Saul Bellow Sarah B Cohen  
(Northwestern)
- Humor in the Works of Stephen Crane John C Houldsworth  
(Vanderbilt)
- The Prose of a Poet A Critical Study of Emily Dickinson's Letters  
Robert G Lambert (Michigan)
- The Short Stories of F Scott Fitzgerald A Study in Composition  
and Style from Manuscript Sources Daniel Bronson (Princeton)
- The Impact of Theater and Film on F Scott Fitzgerald Alan  
Margolies (New York University)
- Poetics and Practice The Dramatic Sense of Robert Frost Tom  
Vander Ven (Colorado)
- Hawthorne's Gardens A Study of Sources, Techniques and Meaning  
Jon C Stott (Toronto)
- William Dean Howells and the Spanish Realists Mary R Wisehart  
(George Peabody)
- Washington Irving's *Astoria* A Critical Study Wayne R Kime  
(Delaware)
- Universality in the Writings of Sarah Orne Jewett Robert L  
Horn (Wisconsin)
- Ring Lardner's Imagery of Mistakes Howard W Fetz (Oregon)
- Disease in the Major Fiction of Norman Mailer Barry H Leeds  
(Ohio)
- Edgar Allan Poe in Modern Brazilian Literature Homer D Kemp  
(Tennessee)
- A Study of the Biographical Interpretations of Edgar Allan Poe  
Frank Sauer (New York University)
- The Imagery in the Sermons of Thomas Shepard  
Bonnie L Strother (Tennessee)
- The Changing Image of Henry Thoreau A Study of His Recent  
Reception Theodore Haddin (Michigan)
- The Shudder of Awe A Study of the Novels of Thornton Wilder  
Allen D Loyd (George Peabody)

## II DISSERTATIONS ON TOPICS OF A GENERAL NATURE

- Land-Nostalgia in the Novels of Faulkner, Cather, and Steinbeck  
John M Ditsky (New York University)
- The Idea of Community in Modern American Fiction James  
Drake (Cornell)
- The *Seven Arts* (1916-1917) A Critical Study Robert Foster  
(Pennsylvania)
- Some Representative Figures of the Southern Gentleman in American  
Fiction, 1865-1915 Theodore C Miller (New York University)
- Children Who Dance under the Moon Calvinistic Concepts of  
Depravity in Selected Progeny of Nathaniel Hawthorne, Henry  
James, Tennessee Williams, and William Golding Norma G  
Rooney (Loyola, Chicago)

## III DISSERTATIONS COMPLETED

- The Poetry of Robinson Jeffers A Reinterpretation and Reevaluation  
John H Adams (Denver, 1967)
- Hawthorne's Use of Spenser Susan Archer (Pennsylvania, 1967)
- Flannery O'Connor An Interpretive Study Frederick J Asals  
(Brown, 1967)
- Herman Melville and the Nineteenth-Century Church Community  
Frank M Davis (Duke, 1966)
- The Reception of the Plays of Tennessee Williams in Germany  
Eugene Dobson (Arkansas, Comparative Literature, 1967)
- The Depth of Walden Thoreau's Symbolism of the Divine in Nature  
William Drake (Arizona, 1967)
- The Complete Short Stories of John William De Forest Edited,  
with Notes and a Critical Introduction James B Durham  
(Arkansas, 1967)
- The Comic Elements in William Dean Howells's Fiction George  
E Fortenberry (Arkansas, 1967)
- The Theory of Literature of James Branch Cabell Charles F  
Gray (Florida, 1966)
- H D The Shape of a Career Joyce M Holland (Brown, 1967)
- The Humane Social Criticism of J P Marquand Thomas A  
Kuhlman (Brown, American Civilization, 1967)
- Agnosticism as Technique Robert Frost's Poetic Style Millicent  
T Lane (Cornell, 1967)
- Style and Point of View in the Tales of Henry James Barry Meni-  
loff (Wisconsin, 1967)

- Emerson and Whitman Their Personal and Literary Relationships Alvin Rosenfeld (Brown, 1967)
- Mark Twain's *Pudd'nhead Wilson* Its Themes and Their Development Robert Rowlette (Kansas, 1967)
- The Cracked Looking-Glass A Critical Study of the Novels of William March (1894-1954) Frederick E Silva (Indiana, 1967)
- Melville Sceptic Sister Mary Dominic Stevens, O P (Loyola, Chicago, 1966)
- Emergence of a Myth John Filson's *Daniel Boone Narrative* and the Literature of the Indian Wars, 1638-1848 Richard S Slotkin (Brown, American Civilization, 1967)
- Carson McCullers, 1917-1947 A Conversion of Experience Margaret Sullivan (Duke, 1966)
- Emerson's *Eroica* A Study of His Idea of Greatness Gustaaf V Van Cromphout (Minnesota, 1966)
- Robinson Jeffers The Achievement of His Narrative Verse Everett K Weedon, Jr (Cornell, 1967)
- A Study of Theodore Dreiser's *The Financier* Robert E Wilkin-son (Pennsylvania, 1967)
- Emerson's Poetry A Study of Form and Techniques Richard A Yoder (Pennsylvania, 1967)

#### IV OTHER RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

- Daniel R Barnes is preparing an edition of the letters of Orestes Brownson and would appreciate knowledge of any of the Brownson papers not available at the University of Notre Dame He may be contacted at the University of Kentucky, Lexington, Ky 40506
- The Academic Computer Center of the U S Military Academy has completed a concordance to William Faulkner's *The Hamlet* Scholars interested in assisting with the projected concordance of the complete works of Faulkner may contact Lt Col Jack L Capps, West Point, NY 10996
- Utica College has begun a Harold Frederick newsletter, called the *Frederick Herald* Contributors should write Thomas F O'Donnell at Utica College, Utica, NY 13502
- Dartmouth College Libraries would like to secure letters or manuscripts of Daniel Webster for their Webster Papers Project Please write Mrs Carol S Moffatt, Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH 03755
- Chester Leach and Dwight Stevenson are compiling an annotated

bibliography of plays by American novelists, from the beginning to the present. They would welcome contributions of relevant materials and can be contacted at the Duke University Press, Durham, N C 27708

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## ARTICLES ON AMERICAN LITERATURE APPEARING IN CURRENT PERIODICALS

This annotated check list has been compiled by the Committee on Bibliography of the American Literature Section of the Modern Language Association John C Broderick (Library of Congress), Herbert Brown (Bowdoin College), James T Callow (University of Detroit), James C Cowan (University of Arkansas), Charles Fish (Princeton University), James Hart (University of British Columbia), C Hugh Holman (University of North Carolina), Robert D Jacobs (University of Kentucky), Karl Keller (San Diego State College), Kimball King (University of North Carolina), Wisner P Kinne (Tufts University), Richard D Lehan (University of California at Los Angeles), Charles W Mignon (University of Illinois), John R Milton (University of South Dakota), Scott C Osborn (Mississippi State University), J Albert Robbins (Indiana University), William T Stafford (Purdue University), James W Tuttleton (University of Wisconsin), with the co-operation of Roger M Asselineau (University of Paris), Anna Maria Crino (University of Florence), Bernhard Fabian (University of Marburg), Frederic Fleisher (University of Stockholm), and Takashi Sugiki (St Paul's University, Tokyo)

Items for the check list should be sent to the chairman of the Committee C Carroll Hollis, Department of English, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, NC 27514

A key to the periodical symbols and abbreviations may be found following page 143 of the March, 1967, issue of *American Literature*

### I 1607-1800

- [ADAMS, JOHN] Herbert, Earl N "John Adams' Private Voice The *Diary and Autobiography*" *TSE*, XV, 89-105 (1967)
- [EDWARDS, JONATHAN] Alexis, Gerhard T "Jonathan Edwards and the Theocratic Ideal" *CH*, XXXV, 328-343 (Sept, 1966)
- [FRANKLIN, BENJAMIN] Brinton, J Y "Franklin and the Conspiracy of Catiline" *LCUP*, XXXIII, 3-7 (Winter, 1967)
- [KNIGHT, S K.] Thorpe, Peter "Sarah Kemble Knight and the Picaresque Tradition" *CLA Jour*, X, 114-121 (Dec, 1966)
- [MATHER, COTTON] Bercovitch, Sacvan "New England Epic Cotton Mather's *Magnalia Christi Americana*" *ELH*, XXXIII, 337-350 (Sept, 1966)

- Ross, Morton L. "Hawthorne's Bosom Serpent and Mather's *Magnolia*" *ESQ*, No. 47, p. 13 (II Quarter, 1967)
- [SMITH, JOHN] Emerson, Everett "Captain John Smith as Editor The Generall Historie" *VMHB*, LXXV, 143-156 (April, 1967)
- "Captain John Smith, Autobiographer" *Early American Literature Newsletter*, II, 18-23 (Spring, 1967)
- [TAYLOR, EDWARD] Griffith, Clark "Edward Taylor and the Momentum of Metaphor" *ELH*, XXXIII, 448-460 (Dec., 1966)
- [WOOLMAN, JOHN] Moulton, Phillips "John Woolman's Approach to Social Action—As Exemplified in Relation to Slavery" *CH*, XXXV, 399-410 (Dec., 1966)
- [MISCELLANEOUS] Hough, Samuel (trans.) "Castiglioni's Visit to Rhode Island" *RIH*, XXVI, 53-64 (April, 1967)
- A translation and annotation of Count Luigi Castiglioni's "Voyage in the State of Rhode Island" (1790), with an introduction by the translator
- Silver, Rollo G. "The Costs of Mathew Carey's Printing Equipment" *SB*, XIX, 85-122 (1966)

## II 1800-1870

- [BROWN, C. B.] Bernard, K. "Edgar Huntly Charles Brockden Brown's Unsolved Murder" *LCUP*, XXXIII, 30-53 (Winter, 1967)
- Hemenway, Robert E., and Dean H. Keller "Charles Brockden Brown, America's First Important Novelist A Check List of Biography and Criticism" *PBSA*, LX, 349-362 (July-Sept., 1966)
- Kirkham, E. Bruce "A Note on Wieland" *Am N & Q*, V, 86-87 (Feb., 1967)
- [BRYANT, W. C.] Crapo, Paul "Bryant on Slavery, Copyright, and Capital Punishment" *ESQ*, No. 48, pp. 139-140 (III Quarter, 1967)
- Lazzerini, Edward J. "Bryant as a Writer of Friendly Letters" *ESQ*, No. 48, pp. 125-131 (III Quarter, 1967)
- Ornato, Joseph G. "Bryant and the *United States Literary Gazette*" *ESQ*, No. 48, pp. 135-139 (III Quarter, 1967)
- Rebmann, David R. "Unpublished Letters of William Cullen Bryant" *ESQ*, No. 48, pp. 131-135 (III Quarter, 1967)
- [EMERSON, R. W.] Barnes, Daniel R. "Emerson, Transcendentalism, and the Methodist Ladies" *ESQ*, No. 47, pp. 62-65 (II Quarter, 1967)
- Cameron, Kenneth W. "Anticipations of Emerson on Native American Art—S. F. Jarvis to Lydia Sigourney in 1832" *ESQ*, No. 47, pp. 110-112 (II Quarter, 1967)
- "Current Bibliography on Ralph Waldo Emerson" *ESQ*, No. 48, pp. 100-105 (III Quarter, 1967)

- "Emerson's Manuscripts—Ungathered and Migrant—Part V" *ESQ*, No 47, pp 125-126 (II Quarter, 1967)
- "More Background for Emerson's *Indian Superstition*—Parish Circulating Libraries" *ESQ*, No 47, pp 130-138 (II Quarter, 1967)
- "Presentation Copies from Emerson (1)" *ESQ*, No 47, pp 106-108 (II Quarter, 1967)
- Francis, Richard L "Archangel in the Pleached Garden Emerson's Poetry" *ELH*, XXXIII, 461-472 (Dec, 1966)
- "The Architectonics of Emerson's *Nature*" *AQ*, XIX, 39-52 (Spring, 1967)
- Gordon, Jan B "Emerson's 'The Snow-Storm' and an 1835 Journal" *ESQ*, No 47, pp 42-48 (II Quarter, 1967)
- Jugaku, Bunshō "A Bibliography of Ralph Waldo Emerson in Japan from 1878 to 1935" *ESQ*, No 46, pp 52-70 (I Quarter, 1967)
- Klammer, Enno "The Spiral Staircase in 'Self-Reliance'" *ESQ*, No 47, pp 81-83 (II Quarter, 1967)
- Monteiro, George "Bibliographical Notes on Four Emerson Letters" *ESQ*, No 47, pp 15-16 (II Quarter, 1967)
- Reilly, John M "'Threnody' and the Traditional Funeral Elegy" *ESQ*, No 47, 17-19 (II Quarter, 1967)
- Sebouhian, George "Emerson's 'Experience' An Approach to Content and Method" *ESQ*, No 47, pp 75-78 (II Quarter, 1967)
- Stevens, David M "Emerson on the Saxon Race A Manuscript Fragment" *ESQ*, No 47, pp 103-105 (II Quarter, 1967)
- Witemeyer, Hugh A "'Line' and 'Round' in Emerson's 'Uriel'" *PMLA*, LXXXII, 98-103 (March, 1967)
- Woodruff, Stuart "Emerson's 'Self-Reliance' and 'Experience' A Comparison" *ESQ*, No 47, pp 48-50 (II Quarter, 1967)
- [HAWTHORNE, NATHANIEL] Adkins, Nelson F "Notes on the Hawthorne Canon" *PBSA*, LX, 364-367 (July-Sept, 1966)
- Beidler, Peter G "Theme of the Fortunate Fall in *The Marble Faun*" *ESQ*, No 47, pp 56-62 (II Quarter, 1967)
- Brucoli, Matthew J "Notes on the Destruction of *The Scarlet Letter* Manuscript" *SB*, XX, 257-259 (1967)
- Davidson, Richard A "Redburn, Pierre, and Robin Melville's Debt to Hawthorne?" *ESQ*, No 47, pp 32-34 (II Quarter, 1967)
- Dusenbery, Robert "Hawthorne's Merry Company The Anatomy of Laughter in the Tales and Short Stories" *PMLA*, LXXXII, 285-288 (May, 1967)
- Jones, Buford "The *Faery Land* of Hawthorne's Romances" *ESQ*, No 48, pp 106-124 (III Quarter, 1967)



- Josipovici, G D "Hawthorne's Modernity" *Crit Quart*, VIII, 351-360 (Winter, 1966)
- Kazin, Alfred "Hawthorne The Artist of New England" *Atl*, CCXVIII, 109-113 (Dec, 1966)
- Lasser, Michael L "Mirror Imagery in *The Scarlet Letter*" *EJ*, LVI, 274-277 (Feb, 1967)
- Levy, Leo B "Hawthorne and the Idea of 'Bartleby'" *ESQ*, No 47, pp 66-69 (II Quarter, 1967)
- Matsuyama, Nobunao "Nature in Hawthorne's Major Novels" *Jimbungaku*, XLIII, 41-69 (Jan, 1967)  
In Japanese
- Moss, Sidney P "The Mountain God of Hawthorne's *The Ambitious Guest*" *ESQ*, No 47, pp 74-75 (II Quarter, 1967)
- Rose, Marilyn G "Theseus Motif in 'My Kinsman, Major Molineux'" *ESQ*, No 47, pp 21-23 (II Quarter, 1967)
- Ross, Morton See MATHER above
- Smith, Julian "Hawthorne and a Salem Enemy" *Essex Institute Hist Coll*, CII, 299-302
- [IRVING, WASHINGTON] Barnes, Daniel R "Washington Irving An Unrecorded Periodical Publication" *SB*, XX, 260-261 (1967)
- Osborne, William S "A Note from Washington Irving to Elizabeth Gray Kennedy" *Am N & Q*, V, 100-101 (March, 1967)
- Wimsatt, Mary A See SIMMS below
- [JARVIS, S F] Cameron, Kenneth W See EMERSON above
- [LINCOLN, ABRAHAM] Anderson, David "Abraham Lincoln, Man of Letters" *Univ Col Quart*, XII, 3-8 (Jan, 1967)
- [LONGFELLOW, H W] Johnson, Carl L "Longfellow's Journey Along the Loire, 1826" *FR*, XL, 92-101 (Oct, 1966)
- Ladd, Paul R "Windmill Cottage and Longfellow" *RIH*, XXVI, 1-11 (Jan, 1967)
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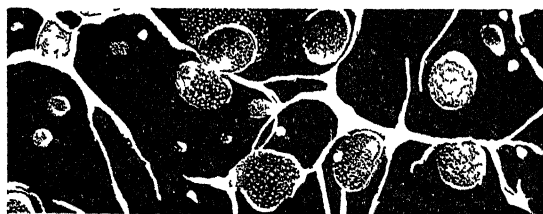
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